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FOUR JAPANESE TRAVEL DIARIES
OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Translated by
Herbert Plutschow and Hideichi Fukuda

FOUR JAPANESE TRAVEL DIARIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Translated from the Japanese

**with NOTES by
Herbert Plutschow and Hideichi Fukuda**

**and INTRODUCTION by
Herbert Plutschow**

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Herbert Plutschow and Hideichi Fukuda
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INTRODUCTION

What is known as chūsei Nihon kikō bungaku or medieval Japanese travel diary literature comprises about seventy accounts written approximately between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. From among these seventy travel diaries I have selected four works which, I believe, best represent the genre's various styles, types of authors and periods. These are: 1) Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki of 1180 (Account of the Journey of the ex-Emperor Takakura to Itsukushima), 2) Shinshō Hōshi nikki of 1225 (Diary of Priest Shinshō), 3) Miyako no tsuto of the years 1350-52 (Souvenir for the Capital), and 4) Zenkōji kikō of 1465 (Account of a Journey to the Zenkō-ji Temple). Together with the works that have already been translated,¹ the accounts I have selected count, in terms of literary quality alone, among the most interesting travel diaries of the middle ages.

These travel diaries, by including poems, adhere to the rhetorical traditions of Japanese poetry, especially travel poetry as it appears in early collections such as the Manyōshū (mid-eighth century), the Kokinshū (905) and the Shinkokinshū (1205). In general, poetic travel diaries, rhetorically and stylistically, continue the utamakura tradition of alluding to places mentioned in classical poetry. Travel diaries also follow, in addition to their poetry, the narrative prose styles and diction of traditional Japanese diaries, such as the Tosa nikki (935) and the Sarashina nikki (1056).

Although travel diary literature to a large extent owes its existence to the traditions and rhetoric of classical Japanese poetry, it also depends on religious traditions, especially pilgrimage and hermit life, and on the synthesis of Buddhism and the native Shinto religion. There is rarely a travel diary that does not give attention equally to both Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines. The merger of religion and poetry makes the travel diary a sometimes highly symbolic and allusive genre of literature.

Therefore, if unaccompanied by an introduction to their complexity, most of these works would remain easily misunderstood, if not condemned outright as uninteresting.

Travel diary literature is best illuminated by discussing what kind of authors kept travel diaries, why they both traveled and wrote, and the nature of the place names that appear in them as well as by discussing the relationships between these factors. Before I do this, especially in reference to these four works, let me try briefly to answer the question: what are the travel diaries?

First, travel diaries are mainly a phenomenon of the middle ages (chūsei ca. 1185-1600), when the separation of government between the imperial court and the shōgunate, and the general unrest created thereby, forced many people to travel.

Second, travel diaries are generally short works in prose and poetry about one-way more often than round trip journeys. Titles of travel diaries such as gokō ki (record of an imperial journey), michi no ki (record of the road), mōde no ki (record of a pilgrimage) and kikō (travel record) indicate the authors' consciousness of the travel diaries as a separate genre of literature. The authors concentrate almost exclusively on their movements, and mention little of their lengthy stays on the way. Though one may be tempted to classify travel diaries among Japanese literary diaries, one should not forget that diaries (nikki) consist of time units, whereas the travel diaries more often consist of geographic units. Therefore, the travel diary merits consideration as a legitimate and separate genre.

Several forms of poetry appear in travel diaries: waka (a 31-syllable poem in 5 lines), hokku (a 17-syllable poem in 3 lines), haikai (an unorthodox waka) and various forms of Chinese poems. Most travel diaries contain one particular form of poetry, but a number of accounts, especially those written in the later middle ages (ca. 14th-16th centuries), include a variety of poetic forms. As one can see in other genres of literature in which prose and poetry are combined, the mood inherent to a particular form of poetry tends to determine the mood and

content of the prose. Therefore, the author restricts his work to the 'world' of that particular poetic form he has chosen.

Including poems in their travel diaries is one way the authors show their consciousness of readership. That is, poetic travel diaries unmistakably were written to be read. Travel diaries were available to later travel diarists who read and copied them, thereby transmitting them to later generations of poets and diarists. We can see their influence upon later generations through allusions and later war tales that incorporated sections of travel diaries. The authors' concern with form further indicates their consciousness of readership. Most poetic travel diaries include a prologue and epilogue which clearly address themselves to the reader.

When a diarist mentions a place name he usually introduces a unit that ends in one or more poems, and these units, in several combinations, form travel diaries. The place names generally belong to the category of utamakura--that is, famous place names--which appear in classical Japanese literature. Accordingly, diaries provide little realistic place description and refer more to the myths, legends and history as well as to past poets and poems connected with such "famous" places.

The "famous" places comprise the single element, beyond travel, that appears in all travel diaries and therefore they unify the travel diary as a literary genre. Before we come to the function of place names in travel diaries we must say a few words about the places named, what the names signify and where they came from.

A poem's meaning often turns upon utamakura used as kakekotoba (pivot words) or an engo (word associations). The place name Mt. Kagami (Mt. Mirror), which appears in both the Shinshō Hōshi nikki and the Miyako no tsuto, indicates a geographical location but, as kakekotoba, at the same time functions as a mirror (kagami). This mirror reminds the poets especially of their age or of the way in which, by having shaved their heads and changed into the black robes of hermits (both of which symbolize the abandonment of worldly ambitions), they have changed their appearance.

As an example of engo, the place name Mt. Utsu (Mt. Reality), which these same diarists mention, appears often in relation with the notion of dream. The poet-traveler often introduces utamakura as honka-dori, a device in which he arrives at an utamakura place and composes a poem borrowing a line or two from a classical poem composed about the same place. For instance, in both the Shinshō Hōshi nikki and the Miyako no tsuto references are made at a place called Mt. Sayo (or Saya) no Naka to a poem Saigyō had once composed there.

Utamakura also appear often in association with specific botanical and topographical features. For instance, in both the Shinshō Hōshi nikki and the Zenkōji kikō, Mt. Obasute (Nagano Prefecture) appears in relation with the moon because the mountain has been sung in classical poetry which has associated this mountain with the moon. As a famous place often associated with iris, Yatsunashi appears in the Ise monogatari and the Shinshō Hōshi nikki. These features may originally have symbolized local deities, but in many cases origins are obscure.

These utamakura place names most probably developed out of certain specific places, which, scattered along the ancient highways, required certain religious devotions. These places were topographically and geographically distinct and consisted of rivers, bridges, lakes, ponds, wells, islands, capes, mountains, passes, forests, villages, boundaries, etc., or simple turns of the roads.² As obstacles to freedom of movement and as points beyond which home disappears--or recedes a significant distance--such places broke the journey's spatial unity and therefore the travelers gave them significance. Local deities were believed to inhabit such places, and on their good will the safe passage of any traveler depended.³ Hence the need to present offerings at such points. To judge by the travel poems of the Manyōshū (a poetry collection compiled in the mid-eighth century), poems often accompanied these offerings in kind, poems which were believed to possess the magical powers (kotodama) to appeal to the local deities.

Other than as dwelling places of local deities, utamakura were also known for their mythical and historical interest; known, in other words, as places where something important had once happened. Such places became

henceforth imbued with the events that shaped them and allowed the travelers to rediscover the past and to realize the passing of time. Especially as Buddhism merged with Shinto, temples along the road also became potential utamakura.

The utamakura were not only poetic devices; they shaped the space through which the traveler passed so that his journey proceeded from one utamakura place to the other. The traveler is willing to ignore any sight that does not belong to the category of known (utamakura) places, however beautiful it may be. He may not even be conscious of "unknown" or "unnamed" places. The importance of utamakura in travel is probably best expressed when Sōgi says, in the Tsukushi michi no ki:

Here too the pine forest stretches out into the distance, and though it does not at all seem inferior to that of Hakozaki, and both of these are unsurpassed, this place is of no special renown and therefore I am not much attracted to it.⁴

Of course, Sōgi's statement can also be taken as perhaps the only device available to introduce into utamakura tradition a new place.

It is, of course, unlikely that all medieval poet-travelers still composed their poems at such places to fulfill a religious ritual. More likely, the utamakura became a literary rather than a religious tradition. Yet we do know, especially through the Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki (at Nishinomiya Shrine), the Gotoba no In Kumano gokō ki (at the Ōji Shrines along the Kumano Highway) and a number of official medieval travel diaries, that travel rituals were still performed in order to promote safe journeys. Imagawa Ryōshun, for instance, offered poems at the Sumiyoshi Shrine (Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi Prefecture) presumably to effect a change in the wind direction that had been keeping him from continuing his voyage (Michiyukiburi).

Hermit travel diaries, for instance, give no indication that poems composed at utamakura places functioned as ritual or magical devices to provide a safe passage. Because of the hermits' Buddhist background, such places, originally the abodes of local Shinto deities, assumed a greater Buddhist significance. As we have already mentioned, Gyōe, the

author of the Zenkōji kikō, probably conceived his pilgrimage to the Zenkō-ji Temple as a passage through an area in which the various places symbolized the Buddhas and bodhisattvas in a mandala. In thus crossing a microcosm of the Buddhist universe, Gyōe establishes a communion with these places, which, due to the synthesis of Buddhism and Shinto, assumed such cosmic mandala significance.

Utamakura places also offered the hermits opportunities to refer to their poetic ancestors, especially since the hermits journeyed at certain anniversaries of poets' deaths. The ancestral poets had left their own poems at such places. In Bashō's Okuno hosomichi, in which he frequently refers to Saigyō, this relation becomes quite obvious.

The importance of the utamakura place names for our interpretation of medieval Japanese travel diaries cannot be overlooked. Even if travel diarists compose no poems of their own at a certain utamakura place, they must at least honor utamakura by mentioning them. Sōkyū does so in the Miyako no tsuto:

As the days went by during my journey on the road to the
east, I passed through famous places such as the Fuwa
Barrier, Narumi Beach, Mt. Takashi, Mt. Futamura, . . . 〇⁵

After that Sōkyū takes great pains to find out the correct reading of Mt. Saya no Naka. At Asaka Pond, he looks for the true association of the place. Such matters were undoubtedly very important especially since place names were also the names of the local deities, and the things associated with these places possibly symbolized these deities.

Without utamakura and the poetic, historical and religious traditions attached to these place names, travel diaries would not have been written --not, at least, in the form they came down to us. For travel diary authors, who were educated poets, utamakura provided the richness of associations necessary for good poetry; they also provided them with an opportunity to show their adherence to time-honored poetic traditions, to maintain them and to transmit them to future generations.

Regarding style, one can distinguish clearly between the travel diaries which have been written in Chinese (kambun) throughout Japanese

history and those in Japanese language because the Japanese travel diaries contain poems and show an awareness of their audience. The ones in Chinese usually contain no poems and record official journeys as objective documents destined for the archives. The travel diaries in Japanese, because they contain poems, belong to classical Japanese literature and therefore become potential material for literary studies. Travel diaries written in Chinese such as the Nittō guhō junrei kōki (Ennin's Travels) of 838-847 or the Tōdaiji shuto sankei Ise Daijingu ki (Account of a Pilgrimage to the Ise Shrines by a group of Tōdaiji Monks) of 1186 cannot be considered literature because they lack personal reactions to events and because they described these events as objectively as possible. All the travel diaries translated here are in Japanese; their prose and poetry contain personal feelings and allusions to classical literature. Therefore they are literature.

Having distinguished the Japanese from the Chinese travel diaries, I shall also group the Japanese works in two categories of subject matter. Official accounts of group travel--imperial, shōgunal, military, etc.--were written by commissioned poets in a style that focused on the leader, to whom they were submitted after completion of the journeys. Accounts of solitary travel were written mostly by authors whom one can call hermits as a result of religiously motivated journeys. Thus, with reference to the works translated here, I shall focus and elaborate on these two groups of travel diaries, distinguishing the official travel diaries from the hermit diaries by their subject matter, style, and motivations.

About half of the medieval travel diaries were written by official or quasi-official poets.⁶ These were respected teachers of poetry who belonged to established families or schools of poetry such as the Rokujō, Kujō, Nijō and to a lesser degree the Kyōgoku and Reizei families. Schools of poetry can be considered official or quasi-official by their association with the court or the military government, the shōgunate. Official poets were asked to compose poems, for instance, at court ceremonies and festivals, and wrote less at their free will. In their poetry they concerned themselves with keeping established poetic theories and traditions, including stereotyped imagery and rhetoric sanctioned through

long use, and their travel diaries generally conformed with these characteristics of official poetry. The poets' most frequent purpose for official travel, as described in travel diaries, was to accompany ex-emperors, shōguns or military leaders who traveled for diplomatic, strategic, religious and sightseeing purposes.

After the Rokujō and Kujō factions had declined at the end of the 12th century, the Nijō family's leading poets were often commissioned to write official travel diaries. Asukai Masaari (1241-1301) wrote a number of travelogues as a result of his official errands to Kamakura.⁷ Out of the Asukai family, which adhered poetically to the Nijō school, came such poets as Masayo (1390-1452), who wrote the Fuji kikō (Account of a Journey to Mt. Fuji) about shōgun Ashikaga Yoshinori's journey to see Mt. Fuji in 1432, and Masayasu (1436-1509), who accompanied Emperor Gotsuchimikado on his journey to Mt. Fuji in 1499, a journey which he described in the Fuji rekiran ki (Account of a Sightseeing Tour to Mt. Fuji).⁸

Koga Michichika (1149-1202), the author of Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki (included here) participated in ex-Emperor Takakura's pilgrimage to the Itsukushima Shrine in 1180 as an official poet. He belonged to a powerful family of poets called Rokujō, which flourished in the twelfth century. Powerful it was, not only in matters of poetry but also in politics. Michichika influenced Emperor Gotoba strongly, and because he opposed the Kamakura military government (shōgunate) established in 1185, Michichika tried to convince Gotoba to declare open war against Kamakura. Consequently Gotoba evicted the Kujō faction (of poetry) from his entourage for having been sympathetic toward the shōgunate. Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241), one of the leading poets of his time and a member of the Kujō, was deeply affected by the loss of this faction.

Before Michichika associated himself with the poetic (and political) entourage of the Emperor Gotoba, he had belonged to the court of Emperor Takakura. As a court poet he participated in Takakura's pilgrimage to Itsukushima, and also as such he wrote an account of the ex-Emperor's death, the Takakura-in shōka ki.⁹

The Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki combines diplomacy, strategy, religion and sightseeing in its account of a pilgrimage to Itsukushima

Shrine. The trip's immediate purpose was political, although the diarist does not make this explicit.

Appealing to the powerful Taira military clan to release ex-Emperor Goshirakawa (r. 1156-1158) from house arrest, ex-Emperor Takakura (r. 1168-1180) ventured as far as Itsukushima (Hiroshima Prefecture), a distance Michichika refers to as unheard of for an ex-emperor. Takakura abdicated in favor of child emperor Antoku, a grandson of the Taira leader Kiyomori (1118-1181), probably to alleviate the punishment inflicted upon his father, the ex-Emperor Goshirakawa, who was accused of having tried to confiscate Taira-held lands. The Itsukushima Shrine, it should be noted, was the Taira family shrine and Kiyomori had encouraged not only his own family but other members of the aristocracy and imperial family to worship at the shrine.

Takakura's journey indicates the power of the Taira and other military clans during the second half of the 12th century, and, in comparison, the relative weakness of the emperors and ex-emperors. The Taira forced one of these, Takakura, not only to embark on a distant sea voyage, but also to worship the ancestral deity of a military clan, there being no precedent for either.

Though I have chosen to translate only the Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki as an example of an official travel diary, other diaries of this type deserve to be mentioned. Fujiwara no Teika, Michichika's rival, wrote a similar account, the Gotoba no In Kumano gokō ki (Account of ex-Emperor Gotoba's journey to Kumano), about ex-Emperor Gotoba's pilgrimage in 1201 to the Kumano Shrine.¹⁰ This diary traces an imperial journey with fewer political overtones. Ex-emperors in the 12th century by custom often undertook pilgrimages to Kumano, presumably to legitimize their share in political power. Of the two governments at the end of the Heian Period (795-1185), the one headed by a ruling emperor maintained its political authority by worshipping the imperial ancestress, the Sun Goddess, at the Ise Shrines (Mie Prefecture); the one headed by an abdicated ex-Emperor worshipped Izanami one of the mythical gods who created Japan and who was enshrined at Kumano.¹¹ Ex-Emperor Gotoba's pilgrimage

was one of twenty-one such journeys, and ex-Emperor Goshirakawa went there as many as thirty-three times.

Many other officials, of course, took such journeys. The Ashikaga shōguns were fond, it seems, of journeying to such symbolic places as the Ise Shrines (Ise Kikō of 1433), and Mt. Fuji (Fuji Kikō or 1432), all of which symbolize the nation over which they ruled. These shōgunal journeys combined sightseeing and the pursuit of poetry with strategy. During his pilgrimage of 1389 to the Itsukushima Shrine, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu consciously emulated ex-Emperor Takakura's journey while strategically surveying western Japan and reinforcing military alliances.

Because poetry played a traditional role in political, diplomatic and military activities, the official travel diaries reveal a peculiar combination of poetry with such "public" endeavors. For instance, it would have been difficult for any aristocrat in a high position to communicate with his peers, let alone the emperor, by means other than poetry. This is why military leaders made great efforts to study traditional poetry. Both official and hermit diaries remain unmistakably literary accounts responding to the poetic nature of the journeys, whether or not diarists mention their true motivations for traveling.

Thus the Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki is a poetic travel diary of ex-Emperor Takakura's pilgrimage in which the diarist keeps secret the true purposes of the journey. Yet when Michichika praises the way Taira no Kiyomori received the ex-Emperor in Fukuhara (now Kōbe), he makes it unmistakably clear that, despite the imperial family's ill-feeling toward the Taira, Takakura intended the pilgrimage to soothe Kiyomori's harsh attitude toward ex-Emperor Goshirakawa. Also, the diary makes it clear that the ex-Emperor Takakura suffered considerable hardships in carrying out the voyage, unusually long for an ex-emperor. The ex-Emperor Takakura wished thereby to show the Taira what extraordinary hardships he was willing to endure in order that his father's punishment be alleviated.

We cannot determine whether the diary was written to be submitted to Taira no Kiyomori. But through later travel diaries of similar nature

we can presume that it was definitely submitted to the ex-Emperor. Since the travel diary describes a pilgrimage to the family shrine of the Taira as well as Kiyomori's receptions here and there on the road, it quite likely reached Kiyomori's hands also. If such is the case, then by writing the Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki Michichika pleaded with the Taira for mercy upon Goshirakawa, the "hidden" motivation for the imperial pilgrimage. The travel account can be seen, therefore, as poetic support for a purely political matter.

The Izayoi nikki of 1280 presents another travel diary in which the motivations for traveling coincide with the motivations for writing.¹² The author, the nun Abutsu (d. 1283), travels semi-officially to Kamakura in order to bring an inheritance dispute before the judgment of the Kamakura military government. She wanted them to decide who would inherit the estate of Teika's son, the poet Fujiwara no Tameie (1198-1275): the sons whom Abutsu bore Tameie, or those who were born to Tameie's former wife. However, Abutsu's poem-prayers for success in her legal suit yield to the Izayoi nikki's larger purpose: to support the school of poetry which Abutsu sought to establish around her own children (Reizei) with the legacy from Fujiwara no Tameie. Abutsu, in fact, sent the travel section of the Izayoi nikki to her children to teach them the art of composing travel poems. This travel diary can therefore be considered a literary support for her plea, making her children economically secure and simultaneously supporting her school of poetry.

With the exception of the Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki and the Gotoba no In Kumano gokō ki, official travel diaries tend to concentrate upon the poetry composed during the journeys; they therefore include only a few travel details. Official authors seem reluctant to go beyond the notation and description of official poetic events; they tend to write short, concise prose sections and avoid writing about their own private feelings.

As we have seen, within the domain of official travel diaries the diarists' positions, motivations, and works all take on an official function. In these factors, hermit diarists, who traveled for more personal reasons, differ greatly from the official diarists.

Three of the four travel diaries presented here are the works of hermit-priests. Hermit diarists are different from official diarists in that they tend to narrate more, to concentrate less on poetry and to attend more to the personal, religious qualities of their journeys; their works often differ from those of official poets in subject matter, thought and aesthetic principles.

Although the hermits comprise the second major group of medieval diarists, we cannot describe them easily. Hermits are to be distinguished from regular temple priests. They severed their ties not only with mundane society but the priesthood as well, to live in small self-made huts and travel about the country, often enduring extreme hardships and poverty. With the formation of such things as temple armies, Buddhist institutions tended to involve themselves considerably with the politics of their times, from which the hermits sought to free themselves. Their travel diaries do not indicate that hermits strongly adhere to specific monasteries or Buddhist sects, but rather suggest their freedom from any bonds, worldly or religious. The hermits were doubtless religious people, yet in their attention to both Shinto and Buddhism they seem rather eclectic.

In considering this group of travel diarists we must also distinguish between hermits and lay-priests. Although they have indicated by their shaved heads their intention to follow in Buddha's path, many of the lay-priests maintain a considerable interest in the political or military affairs of their times and as travel diarists therefore tend to write official or quasi-official accounts. Imagawa Ryōshun (1326-1420), a feudal lord, was such a lay-priest; he wrote the Rokuonin dono Itsukushima mōde no ki (Account of Lord Rokuonin's Pilgrimage to Itsukushima), an account of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's pilgrimage to Itsukushima in 1389, as an official poet-in-attendance.¹³ Hosokawa Yūsai (1534-1610) also belongs to this category. As a feudal lord, he wrote travel diaries about his participation in the military campaigns of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598). Both Ryōshun and Yūsai were official poets, the former an adherent to the Reizei School and the latter a poet of the Nijō School.

On the other hand, hermit authors of travel diaries make it clear, usually in their prefaces, that they are hermits who travel freely of their own will without official purpose. Shinshō of the Shinshō Hōshi nikki and Sōkyū of the Miyako no tsuto (both included here) introduce themselves as hermits at the very beginning of their travel accounts. They insist so much on this type of self-identification probably to avoid the impression that they are writing official travel diaries. Their works show more freedom in style and content than official diaries, a liberty a hermit, who has little or no connection with the official life at the court, can allow himself to take.

We know specifically why some men chose to be hermits, but little about the reasons of others. It can be assumed, however, that hermits were often victims of social and political crisis. One would immediately think of Kamo no Chōmei (d. 1216) as an example of a typical hermit. Chōmei had once been a lower courtier but because of changes in politics and society during the twelfth century, he was probably forced to forsake the world and retired to the ten foot square hut which he so movingly described in his Hōjō ki (An Account of my Hut) of 1212.¹⁴ The Hōjō ki presents one of the first important works of hermit literature in Japan. The poet most emulated (by medieval hermit authors) is Saigyō (1118-1190), another exemplary hermit. Also presumably forced to abandon his official position at the court, he composed, toward the end of his life as a hermit, numerous poems about the many journeys he undertook. The journeys of Saigyō and his travel poems inspire many a medieval travel diarist of similar status.

The three diarists whose works appear here represent three types of hermit-priests. Priest Shinshō, author of the Shinshō Hōshi nikki, is a typical hermit. He served the third Kamakura shōgun Sanetomo (1192-1219) both as a military retainer and as a poet (in matters of poetry Sanetomo had been a pupil of Fujiwara no Teika). When Sanetomo was assassinated in 1219, his three hundred retainers, including Shinshō, forsook the world. Rather than associate himself with a specific Buddhist temple, Shinshō (and other hermits like him) preferred to lead a life of poetic wanderings.

Sōkyū (dates unknown), the author of the Miyako no tsuto, was also a hermit. Sōkyū's reasons for having chosen this type of life are not known; in any case, his travelogue strongly suggests the freedom from worldly bonds that a typical hermit enjoys. He travels freely, with no special aim, schedule or destination, from one place of poetic interest to another, staying now and then with people of similar status and interest. Sōkyū's freedom to travel strongly indicates his hermit-priesthood.

Finally, Gyōe (1430-?), author of the Zenkōji kikō, represents a hermit of yet another type. The content of his travel diary strongly suggests that Gyōe was affiliated with a group of itinerant priests called the yamabushi, or mountain ascetics, and that he specifically belonged to the Mt. Haku-san branch of that group.

The yamabushi, also called shugen-ja, combined in their magico-religious practices both Shinto and Buddhist elements and often dwelled in or climbed sacred mountains. Their practices include the composition and recitation of poems. Gyōe's travel diaries seem very similar to other hermit works. He travels for personal and religious reasons, unofficially. As a travel diarist, he reminds us of Dōkō Jugō (1436-1527), the author of the Kaikoku zakki (Miscellaneous Notes about a Journey around the Country),¹⁵ who, as the supervisor of the Three Sacred Mountains of Kumano of the temple Mii-dera (Shiga Prefecture), was also a yamabushi. Like Gyōe, he displays a strong interest in sacred mountains in his travel diary, wanders around the country with no specific aim or schedule, and often stays in yamabushi lodges.

Hermits could move with relative freedom without being restricted to a schedule or itinerary, a freedom reflected in their style and content. Whereas official travel diarists tend to make daily entries, hermits often freely leap forward in time, sometimes weeks and months, and the way they so casually mention place names makes it sometimes difficult to reconstruct their itinerary.¹⁶ This not only indicates a certain spontaneity in travel and writing but also makes hermit travel diaries more interesting literature. In such official diaries as the Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki, the author, who is not writing of his own free will, focuses his account as much as possible upon the ex-Emperor. He tends to

pay attention to details such as the time of day, and the arrangement of the places of rest. The hermit diarists, however, usually ignore such details and describe famous places in literary, historical or religious terms. Since the hermits, who, usually writing about their own experiences and feelings, are more subjective and personal in their diaries, they often impose upon the places they travel through a religious mood which renders their writings more spiritual and at the same time more universal.

Undoubtedly, most hermits traveled for religious purposes. Priest Shinshō, for instance, travels from the capital (Kyōto) to Kamakura on the seventh anniversary of the death of his lord, shōgun Sanetomo. After he performs memorial services for the late shōgun at Kamakura, Shinshō sets out toward the Zenkō-ji Temple, which, by virtue of containing a famous statue of Amida (Amitābha) Buddha, was believed to be the entrance into Amida's paradise, the Pure Land. Shinshō seems to have traveled because he was strongly influenced by memorial services for the dead; first for Sanetomo, then for Sanetomo's wife Hōjō Masako (1157-1225), and finally for his own wife on the thirteenth anniversary of her death.

Attention to the dead is a frequent purpose of hermit travel. The poet Saigyō traveled to the island of Shikoku to retrace the footsteps of the late Kōbō Daishi (774-835), a famous religious leader who introduced the Shingon (mantra) Sect of Buddhism to Japan. On that island, he also visited the tomb of his late benefactor, the ex-Emperor Sutoku (d. 1164), who died in exile, also a victim of changes in politics and society at the end of the Heian Period. Similarly, Priest Shōkō began to travel thirteen years after his teacher Shōtetsu (died in 1459), on a journey which he described in his Shōkō nikki (Shōkō Diary) of 1473. Shōtetsu himself began his journey in 1418 (one year after the death of his teacher Reizei Tametada) a journey he describes in the Nagusamegusa (Grasses of Consolation). Sanjōnishi Kin'eda (1487-1563) memorialized his father Gyōkū with services at Mt. Kōya, the destination of both their travel-diary journeys. Remembering Gyōkū's Kōya sankei nikki (Diary of a Pilgrimage to [Mt.] Kōya) of 1534, Sanjōnishi wrote the Yoshino mode no ki (Account of a Pilgrimage to Yoshino) in 1553. Seven years after the

death of his teacher Sōgi (d. 1502), Sōchō (1448-1532) wrote the Azumaji no tsuto (Souvenir from the Azuma Road) about his journey to the Shirakawa Barrier (1509), a place Sōgi had visited and described before in his Shirakawa kikō (Account of a Journey to the Shirakawa [Barrier]) (1468). Bashō's Okuono hosomichi (Narrow Road to the Deep North) of 1689 coincides roughly with the 500th anniversary of the death of Saigyō (d. 1190) as suggested by Bashō's traveling companion Sora (1649-1710) in the poem which he composed at Hiraizumi (Iwate Prefecture): Early summer rain/ Year after year it fell - / Five hundred times.¹⁷ Bashō followed in Saigyō's footsteps in his journey to the north and he frequently refers to Saigyō in the Okuono hosomichi.

Many more such examples could be given, but these suffice to show that hermit travel was often occasioned by anniversaries such as the first, third, fifth, thirteenth, thirty-third and other important anniversaries of the deaths of teachers, lords and parents.

There were also other religious motivations for hermit travel. Like Priest Shinshō, Gyōe in the Zenkōji kikō sought communion with Amida Buddha at the Zenkō-ji Temple by circumambulating beneath the main statue. Two of the Zenkōji kikō's passages indicate Gyōe's search for Amida: he refers to a place called Jōdo (Pure Land)--now in Niigata Prefecture--from which he believes he can enter Amida's Pure Land, and to Oyashirazu, a dangerous cliff which he also identifies with the "Reward Land of the Buddha [Amida]." Yet Gyōe journeyed because he also wished to worship sacred mountains. He climbs Mt. Yake and Mt. Togakushi, the latter a known center of mountain worship.

Gyōe's Zenkōji kikō, like several other hermit travel diaries, shows that certain geographical areas were identified with the Buddhist universe, often represented in pictographs called mandala. During his pilgrimage to the Zenkō-ji Temple, Gyōe identifies three places with the Buddha Amida, and claims that Mt. Togakushi is the paradise (Potalaka) of the Bodhisattva Kannon. Mountain ascetics typically identify certain geographical places with Buddhas or bodhisattvas. A journey from one such place to the other therefore symbolizes a journey through the Buddhist cosmos during which one communes with one or a number of Buddhas.

Priest Sōkyū fixed no destination, such as a temple or shrine, to the Miyako no tsuto. Yet he clearly states in the text that his journey had a religious aim. Sōkyū writes that he set out from the capital toward the east "to undergo Buddhist discipline." The word he uses, shugyō (in Sanskrit, dhṛta), has also been used by Priest Shinshō when he left Kamakura, for the second time, to visit his home province.

Shugyō (also gyō) means certain hardships acolytes willingly undergo as acts of Buddhist discipline. Such hardships could go to extremes (aragyō) such as dwelling in caves, standing under waterfalls or climbing or dwelling in mountains. In travel diary literature, shugyō usually means travel, either travel to sacred places or wandering without fixed destination. Shugyō as a purpose of travel was undertaken--as Priest Sōkyū tells us in his Miyako no tsuto--in order to attain Buddhahood (bodaishin)^a

Shugyō also belongs to the way hermits gradually rejected the world of human society in their travels. Priest Shinshō calls shugyō a journey which takes him to his family only to make him forsake them. In both the Shinshō Hōshi nikki and the Miyako no tsuto, travel as shugyō moves away from the capital--the world par excellence--on a journey of rejection. This type of travel probably comes from certain Amidist groups which emphasize abandoning everything (sutete koso) and not living at one place (issho fujū). As an attitude adopted by authors of literature this rejection of permanent dwelling and emphasis upon wandering goes from Saigyō to Bashō and beyond.

In the context of shugyō, diarists never refer to travel as a pleasure. Rather, one of their central themes is hardship. In this theme, the travel diaries as literature harmonize with the status of the authors and their motivations for travel.

However, when we speak about what motivated the hermits to write travel diaries, we must first take into account the degree to which poetry merged with various Buddhist practices in the middle ages.

We face a particularly complex problem when we inquire what prompted the hermits to write poems during their travels and make them into travel

diaries. We must first consider whether the hermits combined the poetry with their religiously motivated journeys or whether, despite their journeys' religious natures, they pursued poetry separately from their worship. Because many hermit travel diaries include poems which may have been composed in a religious mood, but which make no direct references to Buddhist thought or texts, this latter possibility can never be refuted entirely. Some modern critics even believe that Saigyō, who we know traveled in the spirit of Buddhism, wrote poetry that has little or nothing to do with religion.¹⁸ However, an increasing number of scholars try to understand Saigyō's poetry in terms of a synthesis of the traditions of court poetry with Buddhism and therefore interpret it as a religious expression. In my studies and interpretation of medieval Japanese travel diaries, I tend toward the latter view, and for the following reasons

Undoubtedly the medieval hermit poets knew poetry had assumed Buddhist religious dimensions, and I believe that many poets (but perhaps not all) wrote their travel diaries in the spirit of poetry as a potentially religious expression. As Buddhism and Shinto drew closer together at the end of the Heian period, poetry became an accepted expression of Buddhist thought and feeling. Under this amalgamation (called honjisuijaku or Ryōbu Shinto), poetry, often considered the language of Shinto deities, became accepted into Buddhism. This acceptance became easier since some Shinto deities, according to medieval religious eclecticism, had already been regarded as incarnations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Thus, the 12th-century priest Sensai claimed that the god of poetry, the deity of Sumiyoshi (Ōsaka City) is the bodhisattva Kōkitokuo incarnated, and that thereby poetry is equal to the sutras and to the secret formulas used in Buddhism. More and more Buddhist terms, even quotations or allusions to sutras, came to be used in poetry. Sensai's statement, recorded in the Gempei seisui ki,¹⁹ expresses an existing condition rather than a radical change. By Sensai's time poetry was already practiced in Buddhism, and a number of priests such as Jien (1155-1225) and Myōe (1173-1232) considered poetry equal to the Buddhist scriptures and especially to the secret formulas shingon and dhāraṇi. The mystical

spirit brought forth drawings of poetry mandala; furthermore, famous past poets were worshipped as avatars of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Such recognition encouraged many poets to compose more poetry and to dedicate their poems to temples and shrines.

It is medieval poetry's religious quality that enabled the hermits to combine the composition of their travel diaries with their motivations for traveling. This combination appears particularly in travel diaries that refer to an ancestor on the anniversary of his death. In the Shinshō Hōshi nikki, Priest Shinshō clearly uses poetry to express his feelings about his late lord. Likewise, the author of the travel diary Kaidō ki, who probably became a hermit as a result of the Jōkyū Civil War of 1221, retraces in his work the course of events and dedicates a proportionately large section to reminiscences about the victims of the war. If one considers the importance the dead assume in travel diaries, one might also decide that Ki no Tsurayuki wrote the Tosa nikki (934-35) in memory of his dead daughter. Also, Bashō's Okuno hosomichi would fall into this category, for not only did Bashō journey about 500 years after Saigyō's death, but he also followed the famous poet's itinerary and he refers to Saigyō at various places in the account.

Along with these motivations, however, travel diaries were written to transmit certain poetic traditions and teachings. Shinshō not only traveled and wrote as part of ancestor worship, but in his travel diary he seems no less concerned with maintaining a poetic tradition: the eastern school of poetry, to which Sanetomo also belonged. Lady Nijō (1258-ca. 1320) the hermit-nun who wrote the Towazugatari (Confessions of Lady Nijō), may have intended not only to confess her romantic relationship with an ex-emperor but also to maintain the poetic tradition of her family, which grew out of the Rokujō School founded by Fujiwara Akisuke (1090-1155) and which included such famous poets as Michichika. Her family she laments in her diary, had come to a low ebb in her times.²⁰ A strong concern with poetic traditions can also be found in such accounts as the Shōkō nikki (1473) by Shōkō and the Nagusamegusa (1418) by Shōtetsu.²¹

Another significant reason for writing, also corresponding to travel's religious purpose, involves poems dedicated to sacred places along the road. These poetic dedications, which may have come to Japan from China, spread widely from the end of the Heian Period, when poetry became an accepted practice in Buddhism. The Ippen Shōnin eden and Saigyō monogatari emaki, for instance, indicate that poem dedication was practiced in travel literature. The former includes an episode according to which Priest Ippen (1239-1289), the founder of the above-mentioned Jishū Sect of Buddhism, dedicated a poem to the shrine of the Shirakawa Barrier. In the latter, Saigyō does the same at Yagami Ōji Shrine in Kumano. The ex-Emperor Gotoba, according to the Gotoba no In Kumano gokō ki, held meetings to compose dedicatory poems at several shrines during his pilgrimage. Such poetry gatherings at sacred places became popular around the time dedicatory poetry became widespread. Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204; Teika's father), for instance, is notable for having organized several poetry meetings at temples and shrines. With funds raised by Saigyō, Shunzei composed at Ise (in 1186) a series of one hundred poems. In 1217, he organized a poetry contest at Kimbuse-ji Temple with valuables collected by Teika.

Although there are no indications that an entire travelogue was written for dedication to a sacred place, many poems included in travel accounts undoubtedly were. These poems can be prayers as well as dedications. An early example of a hermit account, the Ionushi (10th or 11th century) includes the following prayer and poem, both dedicated to the Sumiyoshi Shrine:

This is what he prayed for at the various shrines:
 In this life one cannot live long, and it is more
 evanescent than the bubbles on the water or the dew-
 drops on a blade of grass. My heart deeply desires
 to blot out the sins of my past life and to become a
 Buddha in times to come. This is because of my un-
 abated hatred for the world. Please teach me to
 watch the blossoms in spring and the crimson leaves
 in autumn without smelling their fragrances or enjoying
 their hues and to look upon the morning dew or the
 evening moon with the conception of the transiency
 of the world

After I have abandoned
 And retired from the world,
 I will only rely upon the Pine Trees
 Standing at Suminoe, waiting
 [for my rebirth in Pure Land]²²

Such poem prayers or poem dedications appear frequently in travel diaries. The Izayoi nikki includes several poems as prayers for success in Abutsu's legal suit (e.g., at Atsuta Shrine). Many poems in the Zenkōji kikō appear to be dedicatory poems, especially those written about sacred mountains; Dōkō Jugō of the Kaikoku zakki also dedicated poems to them. Some of these dedications include Buddhist terms. According to the Ishiyama tsuki-mi no ki (Account of Watching the Moon at Ishiyama) of 1555, a collection of sixteen poems was offered to the Ishiyama Temple. The beginning syllable of each line in the series forms an acrostic that spells the name of Kannon (Avalokiteśvara) the temple's main object of worship.²³

With their emphasis on time-honored poetic imagery and utamakura, the Japanese travel diaries differ from medieval European pilgrim diaries, which may include information about distances, prices, the quality of inns, food and ship services. Travel diaries in Japanese give little realistic descriptions of road conditions and, with a few exceptions, little information about distances, inns, food and roadside facilities. As poetic diaries, the travelogues depend greatly upon the rhetoric of poetic diction and traditions of poetry. Unlike European diaries, which were generally factual accounts, Japanese travel diaries belong more to the category of fiction. Authors used fiction to fit their works into traditionally sanctioned forms and content. It follows that, with this extreme reliance upon tradition, travel diaries could even have been written as imaginary travel records and not according to actual travel.

Travel diaries present no literature of geographic discovery whereby the authors attempt to make a name for themselves in history. Travel usually follows well-established highways which lead through places sung

in ancient poems, which, in turn, give the travelers the impetus and the justification to compose their own verses. The traveler sees his surroundings not as he discovers them but through the eyes of the ancient poets. Only the existence of an ancient poem about a place justifies a poem by an actual traveler. It is clear that what matters to the traveler-poet is not reality so much as the way in which it has come down through poetic tradition. Consciousness of a place is brought forth only by antecedent, and this makes the travel diaries a tradition-bound, retrospective literature of little interest to an historian.

By looking back in time for appropriate descriptions or emotions about a place, the travel diarists obviously superimpose a traditional structure upon reality. They fail to see the reality of a place, as it unfolds itself in front of their eyes, but concentrate instead on the way the ancient poets saw it. They travel along a road of literary history and tradition to which they strictly adhere, thus maintaining and transmitting tradition to future generations. They transmit, and do not generally innovate, since they travel into a past they rediscover on the journey.

In the case, however, of a hermit whose religion motivates him to travel, often to a sacred destination, how does a literature, as described above, harmonize with these motivations? The hermit-traveler imposes by giving attention to places of ancient poetry not only a poetic tradition, but also, if my assumption is correct, a spiritual structure on the physical road upon which he travels. The road means more to him than a link between two geographical points of literary interest, or the distance which separates them; it is a spiritual way as well, of spiritual evolution. The travel diaries, especially those kept by hermits, present a literature of spiritual and emotional wayfaring rather than a literature of a purely physical displacement. The places, which have a literary interest, assume in the mind of the hermit-travelers a spiritual, emotional significance.

Unlike the official diarists, who retain memories of home on their journeys, hermit diarists wish to reject the past. Significantly, most

travel diaries usually start at the capital or its vicinity and move away from it. In much of the travel poetry of the Manyōshū as well as in some official accounts, the emphasis on travel away may be interpreted as an attempt by the traveler-poet to establish, in the poetry he composes on the way, a constant link with his home--the capital city. In hermit literature travel away assumes a different meaning; it is a means of rejection. One-way journeys away from the capital in the context of hermit accounts symbolize the capital as the symbol of the world which is to be abandoned. Hermit travel can be seen therefore as a symbolic movement of rejection. The road for him is a passageway from a social to an enlightened man; it starts at the world (capital) and ends, ideally, at a sacred place or any other destination where the goal of rejection of society can be reached. It is both a geographical passage and at the same time a spiritual process.

The road, therefore, contains symbolic structures and spiritual functions. Flat land with easy, relatively unhindered movement is interrupted by places of difficult, painful, and even dangerous passages. As obstacles in the freedom of movement, such places spiritually structure the way of the pilgrim. Difficult and dangerous places and unpleasant changes in weather present physical obstacles the traveler must overcome to reach both his physical and spiritual destination. The physical properties of the road serve his spiritual evolution.

Not only space but also time can be seen as having symbolic value in travel diaries, especially in hermit accounts. Much hermit travel took place in autumn (Shinshō Hōshi nikki, and parts of the Miyako no tsuto and Zenkōji kikō). Therefore, such travel coincides symbolically with the death of nature and with the hermit's sense of loss created by the process of abandonment. Thus autumn provided the hermit with the ideal temporal occasion for his spiritual endeavor. The death of nature, a process which begins in autumn, provided the hermit-poet with the opportunity to compose poetry about the sadness of the falling leaves, and the sadness of the passage of time, making him acutely aware of the evanescence of life (mono no aware). Nature's laws remind him of his own fragile existence. Travel reveals to him the value of these laws and from them the spiritual value of knowing nature and time.

Whereas official poets tend to use their poetic travel diaries to serve the official purpose of their journeys, the hermits use poetry and prose in their diaries to express their religious ideas and feelings; both, however, have in common, despite the obvious differences in world outlook and travel purposes, an adherence to the time-honored traditions of Japanese classical literature.

1) TAKAKURA-IN ITSUKUSHIMA GOKŌ KI (Account of the Journey
of the ex-Emperor Takakura to Itsukushima)
by Koga Michichika

Koga (also Tsuchimikado or Minamoto) Michichika (1149-1202) participated (as an official poet) in ex-Emperor Takakura's pilgrimage to the Itsukushima Shrine. He was thirty-three at the time of the pilgrimage and held the official position of councilor and middle captain of the imperial guard (saishō chūjō). Michichika wrote a record of the death of ex-Emperor Takakura;¹ his poems, attesting to his fame, figure in a number of imperial poetry anthologies.

Michichika was not only a poet, but also a political figure, a usual combination at that time. He later became Minister of the Interior and a close associate to the son of Emperor Takakura, Emperor Gotoba (1180-1239), who is also known as a poet. Michichika had a powerful influence upon Gotoba. He convinced Gotoba to wage open war against the Kamakura military government established by Minamoto no Yoritomo in 1180. This caused the Kujo faction, which included the famous poet Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241) to be evicted from the entourage of the then ex-Emperor Gotoba, for having been sympathetic toward Kamakura.

Michichika's descendants continued to influence Japanese politics and literature. His daughter was the wife of Emperor Goshirakawa (r. 1156-1158) and became the mother of Emperor Tsuchimikado (r. 1199-1210).² His son Michitomo (1171-1227) continued the poetic tradition of his family as one of the compilers of the Shinkokinshū (an imperial

anthology of poetry compiled in 1205)h Lady Nijō, who wrote the famous autobiography Towazugatari (1271-1306), was a descendant of Michichika, and her work continues his travel diary tradition in its fourth and fifth chapters. Lady Nijō was deeply concerned with the maintenance of the poetic tradition of her family, particularly of her father--Masatada (d. 1272)--whose poems have been included in imperial anthologies of poetry.²

The Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki has, like other travel diaries, inspired the travel sections of other literary genres. Volume four of the Heike monogatari (Tales of the Heike) borrowed from the Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō ki.

This translation is based upon the text annotated by Mizuhara Yoshio, Minamoto no Michichika nikki zenshaku (Tōkyō; Kazama Shobō, 1978).

TAKAKURA-IN ITSUKUSHIMA GOKŌ KI (Account of the Journey of the ex-Emperor Takakura to Itsukushima)

Now the New Year came, and it was already the fourth year of Jishō [1180].³ So many unusual things happened since the beginning of the year that I cannot recount them all. The rumor spread that the Emperor might abdicate and go on a pilgrimage to Itsukushima Shrine,⁴ and his intention to do this seemed as unreal as a dream.

It was after the twentieth day of the second month, I believe, that the Emperor ceded the throne to the Crown Prince.⁵ Although he had made up his mind to do this some time earlier, on the night that the Sacred Mirror,⁶ the Sacred Jewel, and the Sacred Sword were handed over to the new Emperor, he seemed deeply agitated; and his servants, too, were exceedingly grieved. Even the sky assumed a somber appearance, and it rained violently on the white patches of unmelted snow that still lingered in the garden. Toward evening on that day, the higher courtiers⁷ assembled

in the ceremonial area of the Palace.⁸ The ceremonies [of abdication] were all carried out according to tradition, but when the Minister of the Left,⁹ who had received the Emperor's edict, came to the ceremonial area of the Palace to announce the Emperor's abdication, the people were all moved, and, unable to hide their grief, shed tears upon their sleeves. Among them was a person [myself] who, perhaps more grieved than the others, expressed his feelings thus:

Our tears are like the spring rains
Falling from the dark clouds
As a sign of Heaven's sorrow
At seeing the Emperor leave
His white cloud palace.

The crowd pushed and jostled as the time for the ceremonies drew near. Ben no Naishi¹⁰ walked out [of the Pure Cool Hall]¹¹ holding the Sacred Sword in her hands. The Middle Captain Yasumichi¹² received it in front of the western side of the Pure Cool Hall. Bitchū no Naishi¹³ brought forth the box containing the Sacred Jewel. The Middle Captain Takafusa¹⁴ received it and departed, accompanied by the captains of the Imperial Guard. It was sad to imagine what was going on in the mind of [Bitchū no] Naishi, who must have been thinking: "I have served the Emperor for many years, and I am used to handling the Sacred Sword and Jewel, but this evening my hands touch them for the last time."

Having abdicated in favor of the Crown Prince, the Emperor thought about the silence within the Retired Emperor's Palace¹⁵ and the solitude he would feel there. But apart from these things that troubled him, he was worried about the future. The ceremonies at the Court came to a close, and as the day dawned, the courtiers came back to the Retired Emperor's Palace. After most of the people had gone, in the faint flickering of the lanterns, he assumed the new title of Retired Emperor¹⁶ and appointed various persons as his personal servants. Hearing that, I could hardly keep back my tears. The voices of the time callers had ceased entirely, and the shouts of the guards were no longer heard. The carts that had often passed through the gate came no more, and now seemed like a dream. At that time, the first blossoms of the cherry trees by the pond of Kan'in Palace¹⁷ had come out, inspiring me to write

a poem:

If you were to bloom,
Cherry blossoms,
At the Emperor's Palace,
Then it would indeed be worth knowing
That spring has come.¹⁸

Since the Retired Emperor intended to go on a pilgrimage to Itsukushima Shrine, the date for preparing the sacred treasures¹⁹ to be offered there was set on the third day of the third month. As it was customary for an ex-emperor to go on a pilgrimage to [nearby] Kamo Shrine²⁰ or Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine²¹ shortly after he had abdicated, people deplored this unexpected voyage across the rough sea. They wondered what precedent there was for it. However, none spoke his mind, since times were yet as rough as the waves and as unabated as the wind.²²

It was decided that the pilgrimage would start on the fourth, an auspicious day.²³ It rained that morning, but the sky cleared up in the evening. The Great Councillor Sanekuni²⁴ brought a message from the Emperor, according to which the Retired Emperor was given the honorific title of Daijō Tennō.²⁵ That night the Retired Emperor left for the residence of Great Councillor Kunitsuna at Tsuchimikado and Takakura.²⁶ He was riding in a Chinese cart, and the courtiers on horses, all of which were gifts from the Regent,²⁷ who received gifts in return from the Retired Emperor. The cart was driven up. Not only the cart but the procession too was wonderfully adorned. The guards, in dignified array, cleared the way for the imperial procession. All the higher and lower courtiers,²⁸ without exception, accompanied the Retired Emperor. At a little distance followed the palanquin of the Empress [Kenrei Mon'in].²⁹ That evening the sacred treasures to be offered to Itsukushima Shrine were prepared, and it was decided who would attend [at this ceremony]. The directions were: "You must cause no undue burden to the people; do it privately!" This traveling to unfamiliar places when one might otherwise be at the Palace enjoying the faint trills of the nightingale or the sight of the surrounding green mountains enveiled in the mid-spring mist--this was a sign that there are many things in this world that should not be. One heard many complaints of this sort from

people who were dismayed at the departure of the Retired Emperor's procession.

The long spring day came to an end. The Retired Emperor was to leave the capital on the seventeenth, but upon hearing that the armed priests of Mt. Hiei were descending upon the capital with demands, which caused some uneasiness,³⁰ he decided that for the time being it would be better to move to Hachijō Palace.³¹ Thus he went to the residence of the Lady of the Second Rank [Taira no Tokiko] at Hachijō and Ōmiya streets. He moved from one place to another like a shifting sandbank at the mercy of the waves, and, within his party, commoners and officials alike were at a loss to know what to do. For them, life had become a bad dream. Seeing the helplessness of the one [the author's younger sister] who quite seriously said: "I am loath to see him [my brother] part, what shall I do, what shall I do about his unexpected departure?," I paid her a visit on my way back from the Imperial Palace where I took my leave and said: "This world of ours is so unsettled that it's impossible to say who will die first and who next; life is as sad as a journey to unknown places."³² In the meantime, the hazy moonlight had penetrated into her residence, and the few blossoms that remained on top of the plum tree near the veranda were bidding their farewell by sending their fragrance on the wind. It was indescribably beautiful. Then as I was departing, reminded by others that it was getting late, I left her these poems:

Now it is my tears
That do not stop
Before my eyes
When I say: Now the time has come
For me to leave.

Imagine
The sadness
Of a journey far and long;
We will look toward the capital
Which will be hidden beyond layers of waves.

A messenger came to Hachijō Palace and announced to the Retired Emperor, "Please make haste to proceed on your journey."³³ The Retired Emperor replied, "I feel uneasy about a journey to such a distant and

unaccustomed place."³⁴ Great Councillor Takasue came to offer his encouragement to him saying, "All the preparations for the journey have been made."³⁵ Since everyone who was to be in attendance on the journey would, to their discomfort, have to travel by boat, they had gathered to wait for the Retired Emperor in a tent that had been set up at Kusatsu.³⁶ The imperial boat was different from that of the Emperor Yang-ti of Sui,³⁷ which was moored by a rope of brocade, but it was outfitted in the best of taste. [With their colorfully dressed passengers], the boats scattered on the water like varicolored autumn leaves blown down to the surf by the mountain wind. And when the ladies-in-waiting boarded the imperial boat, their chattering sounded like the chirping of the cicada in the tree-tops of mid-summer. Even after I approached them and assigned them to their places on the boat, they disregarded the taboo against speaking and lamented among themselves, "What kind of a recreational excursion is this!"³⁸ for which I reprimanded them, saying, "Don't say things at the start of the imperial journey,"--but I was also uneasy at heart.

At sunrise the Retired Emperor made his appearance, in everyday dress. More than ten lower and seven or eight higher courtiers accompanied him among others. His cart pulled up to the boat and he boarded it. He was used to getting on boats in Kan'in Pond,³⁹ but he had never imagined that he would ever go on such a voyage as this. From the imperial boat word was brought from the Retired Emperor that the well-wishers should not [yet] leave the boat harbor, which accounted for the crowd of people lining up before the imperial boat to see him off.

The people in attendance were: Governor-general of the Dazaifu and Great Councillor Takasue,⁴⁰ Great Councillor Fujiwara no Sanekuni,⁴¹ Great Councillor Gojō Kunitsuna,⁴² and Councillor and Middle Captain Tsuchimikado Michichika;⁴³ and the lower courtiers; Middle Captain Takafusa,⁴⁴ Ben Kanemitsu,⁴⁵ who received and executed commands regarding the journey, Superintendent of Construction Munenori.⁴⁶ Besides these were: the former Captain of the Right Guard Munemori,⁴⁷ Chief-Secretary Shigehira,⁴⁸ the Middle Captain and Governor of Sanuki Tokizane.⁴⁹ Four or five ladies-in-waiting, only those who were close to the Retired

Emperor, also accompanied him. He might think that his retinue was not so large, but on the other hand there was an impressive number of boats.

Shortly after setting out, the Retired Emperor arrived at Mizu Beach⁵⁰ and offered sacred paper strips to Iwashimizu Shrine.⁵¹ While he stayed aboard, they set up on the river bank a brocade tent, spread out a mat inside and placed the staff with the sacred paper strips on it. Middle Captain Takafusa took the offerings into his hands and brought them to the imperial boat. Munenori officiated as the intermediary. Suehiro, the head of the Imperial Cleansing Office, performed the purification ritual.⁵²

Having done this, the imperial boat set out, and in the easterly wind it swiftly floated down the [Yodo] river. During the Hour of the Monkey [between 3:00 and 5:00 p.m.], the Retired Emperor arrived at a place called Kawajiri no Terae.⁵³ Great Councillor Kunitsuna⁵⁴ had prepared there a temporary palace, arranging it as best he could. The Retired Emperor entered the palace grounds by boat, and disembarked at the Tsuridono [Fishing Pavilion].⁵⁵ [Inside the temporary palace], Chinese and Japanese style paintings, done as the painters saw fit, adorned the many folding screens. In the stable stood two grey horses with unusual saddles. There was so much furniture that one could not know the amount. The rooms for the higher and lower courtiers were all adequately prepared. From Fukuohara came a Chinese boat with a message to the effect that since this was an auspicious day, His Majesty should perform the Ceremony of the First Boarding.⁵⁶ It was truly an amazing boat, exactly like those one sees on Chinese paintings, and a few Chinese sailors came with it. It seemed improper that they would indiscreetly serve near the Retired Emperor in spite of an earlier emperor's exhortation against foreigners meeting emperors except on special occasions. The Retired Emperor boarded a Chinese boat for the first time and made a tour of the bay before returning to the palace. In the evening it rained quietly, and he already seemed to miss the capital and feel uneasy on this first night of his journey. The Retired Emperor consulted with the Captain of the Right Guard [Munemori]:⁵⁷ "If it continues to rain like this tomorrow, should we remain here, should we

proceed to Fukuhara by land, or should we sail as scheduled?" The next morning the rain had not yet cleared, but since the journey's schedule had been set, there was not time to waste, so the Retired Emperor decided to continue. However, since the wind direction is often unstable when it is raining, the Retired Emperor proceeded to Fukuhara by land.

At the Nishinomiya Shrine the Retired Emperor offered sacred strips.⁵⁸ [First] prayers were offered at the garden of the temporary palace. Munemori went to the shrine as imperial messenger. [Then] the Retired Emperor proceeded by palanquin, and the rest of us followed him on horseback. The Pines of Naruo rustled in the sea breeze⁵⁹ and the sound of the waves, to which we were not accustomed, echoed in our ears as we followed the road near the beach. We felt as though we were already getting used to traveling, and without being able to tell one place from another, we crossed mountains and rivers, and thus covered quite a distance. In front of the sanctuary of the Nishinomiya Shrine, I chanted passages from a sutra and offered prayers for a safe return to the capital. At the Hour of the Sheep [between 1:00 and 3:00 p.m.] the Retired Emperor arrived at the slope of Mt. Toga.⁶⁰ From there the vast ocean looked like a small pond, and it seemed as though the entire Three Thousand Worlds were visible.⁶¹ Here he took his lunch and soon continued on his journey.

We went past Ikuta Forest⁶² and arrived at Fukuhara during the second half of the Hour of the Monkey. Lay Priest and Civil Dictator Kiyomori did his best to make the temporary palace comfortable. There are no words to describe it; it was beyond imagination. Picture the brilliance of the residence, decorated under the direction of Kiyomori, who could do anything under the sun! Indeed, we felt as if we had entered the Thirty-six Caves of the Divine Immortals.⁶³ The garden and trees were so beautifully arranged that one would like to capture the scene in a painting. It was far more extraordinary than what one heard of it by reputation. Shortly after the Retired Emperor arrived, the vestal virgins of the Itsukushima Shrine presented themselves and entertained him.⁶⁴ In the southern garden of the [temporary] palace⁶⁵ a brocade canopy was erected and Korean poles were placed in a row.⁶⁶ There

were eight vestal virgins in Chinese costume, who, with their flower headdresses, seemed like celestial beings just descended from the heavens. They danced the "Pleasures of Eternal Life"⁶⁷ and other dances, showing no signs of fatigue as they turned from left to right. They seemed superior to our professional court dancers. Even the sound of the Pear Garden's music could not approach this.⁶⁸ After they had finished dancing, the Retired Emperor summoned them up to the floor and ordered them to sing kagura songs before him. All the higher and lower courtiers who attended the Retired Emperor had nothing but praise [for them]. As the day drew to a close and it grew dark in the shadow of the mountains, such bright torches were lit in the garden that it seemed very much like when Duke Hsien of Ch'u reversed the course of the sun as it was about to set.⁶⁹ As the night wore on, the Retired Emperor retired to his quarters. He seemed to have had no more suspicions in his heart.⁷⁰ It seemed indeed that if we were to serve the Retired Emperor in better times than these, his reign would be no different than that of Yao and Shun.⁷¹ It is said that at the end of the Tien-pao era [742-756] in China, the people, expecting that the dynasty would change, learned the Hu-hsuan dance.⁷² Inside the court had been a lady called Taishin [Yang Kuei-fei] and outside the court a man named An Lu-shan, who were the best dancers.⁷³ Of course, the Retired Emperor cannot be compared to Hsuan-tsung, nor were the circumstances alike; therefore, no one doubted [Kiyomori's intentions], and it was indeed foolish [of me] to be worried.

On the twenty-first the Retired Emperor left early in the morning while it was still dark. Ever since leaving the capital, all the higher and lower courtiers had been wearing sacred white dress. The journey led through famous places such as Cape Wada⁷⁴ and Suma Bay⁷⁵ and along beaches, which stretched far away, dotted with pebbles and rocks. Boats with their sails up were skimming over the waves. The Lay Priest of Fukuhara followed the Retired Emperor aboard his Chinese boat.⁷⁶ When we learned to our surprise that we had already reached Harima Province, and heard the name Inamino, we were overcome by a gloomy mood.⁷⁷ I accompanied the palanquin of the Retired Emperor, who asked me about places along the way. The palanquin was carried by [strong] men of Yase

provided by the High Priest [Kōken of the Tendai Sect]⁷⁸ Lunch was prepared for the Retired Emperor at Yamada in Harima Province at a place that had been arranged with especially good taste.⁷⁹ In the garden was a paved path of black and white stone laid out in a checkered pattern which led to a nicely furnished pine-thatched pavilion. The imperial meal consisted of a variety of local fish and fruits of mountain trees. After resting a while, the Retired Emperor set out again. The wind had risen somewhat, and the surf sounded ominous. The boats that were afloat were tossed about a bit. As we passed by Akashi Bay,⁸⁰ everyone was reminded of the person of old who was drenched by the waves and by his own tears.⁸¹

At the Hour of the Monkey [between 3:00 and 5:00 p.m.], the Retired Emperor arrived at Takasago Harbore⁸² The surrounding boats lowered their anchors and moored in the bays. Because of the [greater] draft of the imperial boat, it ran aground, so three small relay boats were bound to its side. The Retired Emperor was taken by palanquin into one of these, and only the higher courtiers accompanied him. The sound of the waves, which none of us was accustomed to hearing, all of a sudden became frightening, and the shouting of fishermen rang in our ears. Here the imperial messengers who had been sent to the provinces to announce the coming of the Retired Emperor were sent back to the capital. I took this opportunity to write to someone in the capital:

Imagine
 The hardships of each night
 When I wake in the middle of the night at Suma
 And cannot peacefully spend the whole night at Akashi
 [Thinking about you].⁸³

The crowing of a rooster could be heard faintly from a village [whose location we did not know]; it only added to our nostalgia. It was an unusually beautiful spring dawn when the mist rose over the bays [but] nobody could explain why we shed tears over the sleeves of our travel clothes. We received a message saying, "The tide is high; His Majesty should proceed at once,"⁸⁴ and all the servants and we ourselves went to the assigned boats to get them read for the voyage. When the Retired Emperor summoned me to his side, I felt overwhelmingly grateful

for his trust. The drum of the imperial [Chinese] boat was beaten three times. At the sound of the drum all our boats began to move out of the harbor. Only after all the attending boats had left the harbor did the imperial boat set out. The captain and the oarsmen, twenty in all, wore specially decorated gowns with a blue pattern on an orange background. The shouts of the oarsmen rowing the boats through the calm morning waters sounded very strange to us.

Toward the end of the Hour of the Horse [between roughly noon and 1:00 p.m.], the Retired Emperor arrived at Muro Harbor.⁸⁴ The area was surrounded by mountains, and the bay looked like a pond in their midst. Many boats were moored here. On the other side of the sea lay Ieshima Harbor.⁸⁵ We were told that there the wind would bring boats bound for Tsukushi [Kyūshū]. At Muro Harbor, a temporary palace had been built. The imperial boat approached it and the Retired Emperor went ashore. After he had taken a bath, a number of local pleasure girls, who looked like the foxes that had been dwelling on the old grave mound and had taken human form in the evening after dark, approached the temporary palace in their boats, each trying to outdo the other.⁸⁶ Since no one paid any attention to them, they retreated. On the top of the mountain was a shrine dedicated to the Kamo deity.⁸⁷ The Retired Emperor offered sacred strips, and I went there on my own and offered strips. An old priest there told me that when this harbor was made an estate of the Kamo Shrine in the old days, they enshrined part of the deity here and that this deity has special power. The shrine consisted of five or six large buildings built in a row. The shrine priests gathered and beat drums and danced together continuously. I heard that this was a prayer to ward off any mishaps caused by either wind or rain during the Retired Emperor's journey. I felt relieved to hear that there was in such an isolated place a powerful deity who came down on earth and pledged to protect us.

On the twenty-third, the sky was bright and the wind was still. The dawn moon was about to set over Awaji Island,⁸⁸ and I felt that nothing could surpass this sight, so I wrote:

Having seen
 The moon sink over
 Awaji Island,
 I want to make this dawn
 The souvenir of my life.

The Retired Emperor arrived at Kojima Harbor in Bizen Province, where a temporary palace had been built for him.⁸⁹ The furniture was new and well arranged. Rooms for the higher and lower courtiers were built alongside. The tide had receded somewhat when the imperial boat arrived. Because the edge of the water was some distance from the shore, the Retired Emperor was taken there by palanquin. A music pavilion had been built in the eastern garden, to which the Lay Priest of Fukuhara came, together with the vestal virgins of the shrine. They were dressed in ceremonial court robes, patched with brocade and appliqued with cherry blossoms. Eight of them assembled and presented a dengaku show.⁹⁰ Today we saw no pleasure girls. Since they [the pleasure girls] approach every traveler, why have they stayed away from us? But even if they appeared, would any of these seaside girls be worth looking at? When the dengaku performance was over, some strange-looking individuals came, announcing themselves to be sushi performers and gave a performance of a running sushi.⁹¹ As the sun had set, they retired from the imperial presence. When the Retired Emperor looked out upon the bays, the setting sun was washing the entire sky in red and the shape of the mountains rising behind the islands across the sea seemed like a painting to him; and he inquired about the places he saw. When he was told that the Lay Priest and Prime Minister was now beyond those mountains across the sea, his face looked sad all of a sudden, and his attendants also could not hide their feelings of sadness.⁹² Life during a temporary journey is depressing enough, but how much more depressing it must be to put up at a warrior's residence. "Kunitsuna, the Great Councillor, had come to see the Retired Emperor, but it was reported, but the visit failed to revive his spirits. When he heard that a branch shrine of the Iwashimizu Hachimangū is in this province, he offered sacred strips.⁹³

On the twenty-fourth during the Hour of the Tiger [between 3:00 and 5:00 a.m.], the drums were beaten to announce the Retired Emperor's

arrival at Semito in Bitchū Province.⁹⁴ As we traveled from province to province, farther and farther away from the capital, the trees growing on the mountains and the shapes of the rocks appeared increasingly rough to us.

On the twenty-fifth, during the Hour of the Monkey [between 3:00 and 5:00 p.m.], at Mumajima in Aki Province,⁹⁵ we all washed our hair in seawater and purified our bodies. Saying that Miyajima is near, we cleansed our hearts from defilement. On the twenty-sixth, the sky was serene and we could tell in advance that the deity was pleased with the pilgrimage [of the Retired Emperor]. When the sun rose, he gave the order to start. At the Hour of the Horse [between 11:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m.], the Retired Emperor arrived at Miyajima.⁹⁶ He searched for the boat which carried the sacred treasures. They said that it was already moored at the harbor. We waited a short time until the arrival of the diviner's boat.⁹⁷ The serenity of the sky and splendid appearance of the place were striking. This place must be as beautiful as the Hu-hsin Temple of China. We felt as if we had reached the abode of the Immortals.⁹⁸ At Miyajima's Ari Bay, the sacred treasures were arranged and prayers were offered.⁹⁹ The officiating priest, a person dressed in hunting costume, took the treasures given to him by the Middle Captain Tokizane to the shrine. He cleansed them by waving the sacred paper strips and offered them to the shrine. As the tide was then receding, the imperial boat could not be brought to the temporary palace, so the Retired Emperor moved [first] to a smaller boat. The higher courtiers attended him. On the south side of Miyajima Island, a cottage of six square yards was built to serve as the temporary palace, and, within, the paintings on the sliding doors all depicted seaside scenery. A covered passageway had been built to connect the palace with the waterfront, so that when the tide was full, the imperial boat could be taken directly to its entrance.¹⁰⁰ After taking a bath, the Retired Emperor, dressed in a light ceremonial robe of silk, made his appearance. In the eastern garden of the palace, a table of unpainted wood was placed on a straw carpet, on which stood a staff with white strips. To the right of it there was a Chinese box with its lid open, containing golden strips. To the left there was a straw cushion which was to serve as the seat of the diviner. There was a

sacred horse to be presented to the shrine. It was led there by Nobusada,¹⁰¹ an officer of the Left Guard, and Tokimune.¹⁰² Because, at the time of this journey, the Northern Guards had not yet been appointed, the Retired Emperor was accompanied by the private guards of the higher courtiers.¹⁰³ Middle Captain Takafusa served as the Retired Emperor's chief guard. Vice Minister of the Imperial Household Agency Munenori served as intermediary. After the purification ritual, a servant, carrying the shoes of the Retired Emperor, led the way. He went along the beach to the north of the passageway. The Retired Emperor proceeded along the [wooden floors of the] passageway. When he was Emperor he would only walk on mats, even though the distance was only one or two hundred yards, and I wondered how he would do in the unaccustomed shoes. All the higher and lower courtiers followed the Retired Emperor. They first went to the Marōdo Shrine. They presented two pairs of strips of both gold and silver.¹⁰⁴ The officiating priest displayed them in front of the sanctuary together with his staff of white paper strips. Inside the sanctuary, a half-sized Korean mat was laid out to serve as the Retired Emperor's prayer seat. Kanemitsu no Ben handed the strips of gold and silver to Takasue, the Great Councillor, who in turn handed them to the Retired Emperor. After worshipping, the Retired Emperor withdrew to the temporary palace. The secretary of the Office of the Retired Emperor displayed in front of the sanctuary the koto, biwa, hyōshi, and flute that he had received and which was [later] to be given to a designated layman.¹⁰⁵ The vestal virgins were in various costumes, dressing up with patched brocade, and they wore colors and styles the beauty of which was beyond imagination.

After the kagura dances, the Retired Emperor went to the main shrine.¹⁰⁶ After presenting the sacred strips, the Retired Emperor dedicated the Lotus Sutra, written in gold, of which he himself had copied the Juryō-bon chapter and Jumyō-kyō.¹⁰⁷ The ceremony was led by High Priest Kōken,¹⁰⁸ who reported it to the Buddha, saying: "His determination to go on this pilgrimage across the waves, abandoning the Imperial Palace [is admirable]." Hearing this, everybody drenched their sleeves with tears. In recognition for his services, the High Priest was given

a suit of clothes and a wrapper of money. The Retired Emperor then announced promotions. He appointed a certain person to the priestly rank of Hōgan.¹⁰⁹ Kagehiro, the chief shrine priest, was advanced one rank.¹¹⁰ The Head Priest of Miyajima was appointed ajari.o.¹¹¹ The Governor of Aki Province, Aritsune, was advanced by one rank and then appointed to the Retired Emperor's lower courtiers.¹¹² The news was brought to Kanemitsu by the Great Councillor Takasue. The eight vestal virgins who performed the kagura dances were each presented with a dress and some cotton cloth. At the end of the day, the Retired Emperor returned to the temporary palace. The chambers of the higher and lower courtiers were tastefully outfitted; they lived in the vestal virgins' houses, which had been somewhat rearranged. If only we could have appreciated the moon coming out, how pleasant it would have been! We all missed having a moon in the sky that night.

On the twenty-seventh, the sky was bright and clear. Though it was late in the season, the remaining nightingales were singing quite unexpectedly in the shade of the trees of Mt. Miyama.¹¹³ In the early morning when it was still dark, the tide came in and the sea water washed up close to the temporary palace. We had never seen anything like that. After breakfast it was announced that there would be an imperial visit to the shrine. The Retired Emperor went to visit it. On this day he was wearing a ceremonial dress made of cotton. The gifts of the provincial governors were brought and displayed in front of the sanctuary. In front of the veranda, a stage and a prayer building were built. The vestal virgins, both young and old, joined in the procession and carried the offerings. One after another, they presented the offerings while music was played and the door of the sanctuary was opened. From the head priest down to the lower officials of the shrine everyone received gifts, which were distributed by the officials of the Retired Emperor's court. The vestal virgins, wearing flower-bedecked dresses of patched brocade with metal decorations and wide trousers, performed the dengaku in a group of eight. It seemed they were even more beautiful than celestial maidens who had come down from heaven to amuse themselves on earth. Afterwards they danced the Sogō and Komaboko dances.¹¹⁴ Carrying their Korean sticks

they looked truly impressive. After sunset the Retired Emperor went to the Taki [Waterfall] Shrine.¹¹⁵ There the High Priest Kōken composed a waka and inscribed it on the shrine building:

How happy I am
 To have established a communion
 With the deity of the Waterfall Shrine
 Through the white threads
 Of water that fall from the sky.

In the evening we were informed that the Retired Emperor intended to pass the entire night without sleep. He repaired to the prayer building, and the vestal virgins gathered to dance all night. As the night deepened, a seven-year-old young vestal virgin, who happened to be there, became possessed by the deity. First she collapsed and lost consciousness for about an hour. The older vestal virgins then took her into their arms, and after a while she revived. The deity said through the mouth of the girl that the kagura should be dedicated to him. She called the head priest and told him several things. It was a strange sight and there must have been people who thought "How can that be?," doubted that it was true, but this mere girl even explained the sacred scriptures, saying: "This god is an incarnation of [such and such a] Buddha and first appeared on this island to protect the inhabitants." There was none who was not moved to tears. [Then] she called out for the Lay Priest Kiyomori and said several things, but no one heard what she said. From time to time she also recited words from the Juryō-bon chapter of the Lotus Sutra. There was none who did not lower his head in conviction. Someone said that he saw on the sliding screen behind them a vision of a noble lady turning toward the sanctuary, and an unusual perfume emerged from inside the sanctuary. All at once, everyone was in a stir. It reminded me of the ancient Chinese legend of the heavenly maiden who descended to Mt. Yōdai and appeared in the king's dream, promising to follow him in the form of a cloud in the morning and as rain in the evening.¹¹⁶ At dawn the shrine roosters announced the break of day. The waves of the sea roared and one heard them spilling over the fence of the shrine, perhaps because the tide was full. Hearing this, I discovered Po Chū-i's skillfulness of catching the atmosphere in the poem: "The sound of the tide

comes and penetrates my ears . . . o,"¹¹⁷ and the impressions which I gathered there cannot be described. Thus night changed into day, and the Retired Emperor returned to his temporary palace.

On the twenty-eighth the Retired Emperor said, "Let us have a look at the bays of this area,"¹¹⁸ and he went to see the divers at their work. He wore a hunting dress of light blue, two white undergarments of twilled fabrics, and wide trousers. He looked very charming and handsome. He toured by boat along the coast, enjoying the sights. Many places along the way looked as if they really could be the Caves of the Immortals or the Palace of the Sea Dragons.¹¹⁸ The inhabitants of the island came and offered seaweed. The Retired Emperor sailed around for awhile and then returned to Miyajima. The next morning during the Hour of the Dragon [between 7:00 and 9:00 a.m.], he went once more to offer prayers at the shrine before boarding the imperial boat. [Not only ourselves but] the islanders too were milling about and the vestal virgins came to the shore. The latter, having entertained him these past days, seemed sorry that his visit was over. The Retired Emperor ordered me to compose a waka expressing our sorrow at leaving, so I wrote this:

Because we leave our hearts
At Ari Bay,
The deity blesses us
With white waves
That drench us.¹¹⁹

The wind was still and one could see from the appearance of things that spring had deepened and the cherry blossoms on the island which we had not anticipated to see were already about to scatter. It struck us very strongly, and I recognized anew that we had already reached the end of the third month. People wrote prose pieces and poems in Chinese telling why on a journey no one could regret the passing away of spring. But the Retired Emperor had good reason to be unable to enjoy himself. Nothing could distract him, which, we felt, was quite understandable.

Upon the first day of the fourth month, we remembered that the people in the capital, which then seemed far away, were changing into summer dress.¹²⁰ The sky was still cloudy, but it had stopped raining, so the boats left the harbor. The voyage thus continued without

interruption, passing many beaches and harbors until we felt the capital drew nearer and nearer and the hardships of travel were gradually forgotten. The Retired Emperor ordered that the boats push on as quickly as possible. He saw on the opposite shore a dark violet wisteria blooming on a green pine tree around which it had entwined itself and said, "Send someone to fetch that." Yasusada, the Secretary of the Office of the Retired Emperor, called upon a passing small boat to get it.¹²¹ The boatmen climbed the small hill, took the pine branch with the wisteria and delivered it. When the Retired Emperor said, "You are a man of taste," and ordered me to compose a waka for the occasion, I wrote

The wisteria
That decorates you
You who live for a thousand years
Once was twined around
A thousand-year-old pine

The sky cleared and the sun rose, so all the boats, one after the other, hoisted their sails and sped through the waves as if they were [mere] clouds or smoke. Thus the Retired Emperor passed through the Inland Sea of Bizen Province. At sunset he arrived at Kojima Island. Before dawn of the fourth, he set out again on the imperial boat. The shouts of the oarsmen rowing at night was truly depressing. On the fifth, as it rained, he entered the harbor of Takasago. "What is happening?" everybody asked. "People of the capital are here."

During the Hour of the Monkey [between 3:00 and 5:00 p.m.], the Retired Emperor arrived at Fukuhara. Now everyone thought only of returning as quickly as possible to the capital, but the Retired Emperor wanted to go sightseeing in the town of Fukuhara, so he was taken through the streets by palanquin. One could see from the appearance of the place and from the buildings themselves that they were designed by Koreans.¹²² The Retired Emperor visited the home of Yorimori at Arata where he was shown various ways of shooting arrows from horseback.¹²³ At dusk he returned to his temporary palace. On the eighth thanksgiving ceremonies for the Heike were held, and many were promoted. Kanemitsu no Ben announced the promotions. The Lesser Captain of the Left Guard Sukemori¹²⁴ and Kiyokuni, the Governor of Tamba,¹²⁵ were promoted.

As the capital drew nearer and Mt. Yawata came into view, everyone felt relieved. "We can see Mt. Hiei," they said, and even the ladies-in-waiting were excited and gathered to take a look.¹²⁶ During the Hour of the Monkey, the Retired Emperor got into a cart and was taken to Hachijō Palace. He thus returned to the residence of the Lady of the Second Rank. The capital seemed strange to him. The news spread that the Retired Emperor had lost weight alarmingly and that the doctors had prescribed moxa treatment for him.

2) SHINSHŌ HŌSHI NIKKI (Diary of Priest Shinshō)
by Priest Shinshō (also Shinjō)

According to the text of the Shinshō Hōshi nikki, its author was the Priest Shinshō, who left Kyoto on 10/2/1225 and arrived in Kamakura on the twenty-ninth day. He journeyed in the spirit of Buddhist discipline, which took him beyond Kamakura to the Zenkō-ji Temple (now Nagano, Nagano Prefecture).¹ Like most hermit diarists, Shinshō conceived of his journey as a rejection of the world.

Shinshō was a son of Tomotsuna, a retainer of Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199) during the wars between the Minamoto and the Taira (1180-1185). Two of Tomotsuna's sons became poet-priests. His eldest son Yoritsuna entered the priesthood, took the name of Jisshinbō Renshō, and became a disciple of Priest Hōnen (1133-1212). Living in a lodge in Saga (northwest of Kyōto), he dedicated himself to poetry, and founded the Utsunomiya School of poetry.² His daughter married Fujiwara no Tameie (1198-1275) and bore him Tameuji (1222-1286), the founder of the Nijō School of poetry. As a younger brother of Renshō, Tomonari (later Shinshō) founded a new family branch, the Shionoya of Shimōtsuke Province (now Tochigi Prefecture) and became a retainer of the Kamakura Shōgun Sanetomo, who favored Tomonari's poetic talents.³ A few days after Sanetomo's assassination in 1219, more than a hundred of his followers entered the priesthood, Tomonari among them. Tomonari took the priestly name of Shinshō. The Shinwakashū includes a poem composed by him on 5/5/, shortly after he took his vow: I want to changeh/ My sleeves / And replant the iris / In my hatred for this world / In which pond will it grow?⁴

Seven years later, Shinshō began the journey recorded in the diary. The Azuma kagami gives the age of Shinshō in 1219 as thirty-eight,⁵ and we may assume that he was about forty-five at the time of his journey. He probably traveled to Ise shortly after his vow. In the Shinwakashū, this foreword precedes one of his poems: "During the time he practised austerities, he made a pilgrimage to the Ise Shrine."⁶ In 1237, at the age of fifty-six, he went with his elder brother Renshō to his native province. Shinshō died on this journey.⁷

According to the Sompi burmyaku⁸ and the Utsunomiya keizu beppon,⁹ Shinshō had three children. The poems of his son Tokitomo are collected in Nyūkyō inaka uchigikishū.

Sasaki Nobutsuna annotated the Shinshō Hōshi nikki as chapter 3 of his article, "Kamakura jidai no bungaku."¹⁰ The manuscript he used, which is now lost, was probably the one possessed by the Library of the Imperial Household Agency. The Katsuranomiya-bon sōsho, vol. 6, Shikashū 6, printed in 1956, published the full text of Shinshō Hōshi shū, which includes (after the diary) a private collection of 161 poems by Shinshō. It was made from a copy dated at the beginning of the Edo Period and is the only one now existing.

SHINSHŌ HŌSHI NIKKI (Diary of Priest Shinshō)

Thinking that there is no place, not even a [remote] mountain cave where one would not hear about the bitterness of the world,¹¹ and that neither do the mountain pears which grow everywhere offer a place where one can hide,¹² I left the capital, driven by my urge to wander about, on the tenth day of the second month in the spring of the second year of Gennin [1225],¹³ with the intention of subjecting myself to Buddhist discipline.

In the past I would have loathed to see my travel destination far away enshrouded in evening clouds,¹⁴ and, thinking: "When shall I meet them again?" I recalled many friends of mine whom I would have missed at the sight of the moon at dawn on my journey. Then, too, there were things that kept me in the capital. Yet now that my friends have scattered away like falling leaves, and half of them have passed away, each one of them following his own fate,¹⁵ I too was deeply concerned about my own future as I looked back toward the capital, whose treetops, receding farther and farther, looked no different than shepherd's-purses with a myriad of stems.¹⁶ [But now] going through the Ausaka Barrier¹⁷ [I composed these lines]α

I would leave my heart
At Ausaka Barrier
If I were still attached
To my friends in the capital,
[But now I have no more]α

When I passed over Mt. Kagami¹⁸ [Mt. Mirror] I was overcome by sadness seeing my own future [or karma] mirrored in the way in which the places along the way had changed since I saw them last, and became aware, by the same token, of my own advanced age:

The Mirror Mountain
Would reflect
An unknown old man
Had I not yet changed my appearance¹⁹
[Into that of a Buddhist priest.]

When I stayed overnight at Ono Stage,²⁰ I realized how truly pitiful the life of the pleasure girls was. Of course no life is easy, but it was extremely sad to see them committing sin after sin, by just waiting for the casual customer and relying upon the floating world, and it made me freshly aware of the sure truth of the words: The greedy pursuit of material desire brings one pain in the present life and condemns one to become a hungry demon or a beast in hell.²¹

How pitiful!
How often and without choice
Each evening
They fall in love
With how many transient strangers?

It is a rule of life that none should doubt, be he good-looking, rich, or wise, that when Emma, the King of Hell, condemns people to hell after they close their eyes forever, he will make no distinction between rich and poor.²²

The day will come
When my life too
Will vanish;
At the end of life
Who can evade death?²³

I think that all the Buddha explained is beyond doubt, but nothing is more certain than the law that, young or old, we must all someday die. I have seen this with my own eyes from past to present. This law appears to be real indeed, and I also felt the reality of the Hell and Paradise I have not yet experienced. Yet, though my outward appearance is that of a priest who abandoned the world and retired to the mountains, my soul still suffers at the prospect of death. Is it not regrettable and foolish of us to commit sin after sin by involving ourselves in the secular world in order to live our daily lives, not giving enough attention to the law that our human existence on earth is only temporary? Not only the ignorant and the young, but also the noble and wise fail to realize that. We cannot escape at all from the truth of the words: "Indulging in this today and engaging in that tomorrow, we cling to pleasure without realizing the pain that this will bring and without being aware of death, which no one can possibly avoid."²⁴ Now that I have been "fortunate enough to have received life as a human being and to have met Buddhism, which is extremely difficult to encounter,"²⁵ if I had gone on spending my days like this for naught and had fallen back to my former home in hell,²⁶ suffering all its pains, who would offer me help even if I raised my head to heaven and prostrated myself upon the dirt out of grief and sadness? Buddha did not tell us that we must by all means avoid worldly thought, nor did Amida mean that the ignorant cannot be saved. No matter how sinful our daily life might be, and no matter where or when we happen to live, we can surely be reborn in Amida's Pure Land if only we call his name at all times, sincerely desiring this rebirth as he promised it. Realizing that it is merely for the benefit of us who live and die and

who commit sins and evil that, after we escape from the long burning house of human existence,²⁷ we shall be born in the land of eternal bliss,²⁸ I soaked my sleeve with the tears of joy, and it was then that I became aware of the advantage of life upon earth.

Like the Vow of Amida,
The moon of Shinoda Forest
Will not fail to shed its light upon us
Who are like the dew
Under a dense tree.²⁹

While I was going through Yatsunashi³⁰ I wrote this on a tree which stood on the bank of a marsh:³¹

Iris!
Even now
After having survived
Through the ages
Your beauty remains the same.

When I passed over Mt. Miyaji³² long ago, nothing moved me; but now that I had become a priest, I felt lonely and knew not why, and my heart was touched by the wind blowing through the pines.

Even the wind
Blowing down through the pines
At Mt. Miyaji
Seems divine to me and touches my heart
As it never did before.

At Hashimoto Stage, after having exchanged some words with the pleasure girl whom I had frequented in the past, I sent her this at my departure at dawn:

Did you recognize me
When even the moon
Always shining with the same light
Was veiled in the mist
Which filled the night sky of spring?

As I passed through that stage [Hashimoto Stage] I inscribed this onto the bridge:³³

As I now cross Hamana Bridge
Again [on my return home]
It must surely seem to people

That I am returning
To the profane world³⁴

At Ikeda Stage³⁵ I tried to rent a room at the inn of Jijū,³⁶ a
pleasure girl whom I had been acquainted with in the past, but she pre-
tended not to know me and showed no sign of willingness to accommodate me,
so I sent her this:

Since I am no longer dressed
In the same way as in the past,
Is it the pond of Ikeda
Which does not accept my shadow
Or is it you who will not give me shelter?

As I passed Mt. Sayo no Naka:³⁷

How I am moved!
This will be the last journey of my life,
Which comes to a close
Like evening passing into night
At Mt. Sayo no Naka.

At Kikugawa [Chrysanthemum River]³⁸ Stage, I soaked my sleeves with
tears when I saw the pillar upon which the lay-priest and Middle Councillor
Muneyuki had inscribed the poem, "By the Chrysanthemum River of Nan'yō
Prefecture," and I composed these lines:

He left us a trace of his feelings,
A poem as fleeting as the dew
At Kikugawa,
And let us know his name,
As transient as all the things of this world.³⁹

Crossing through Mt. Utsu, I attached a tablet to a tree beside
the road with the words: "In the past, after composing a verse at the
sight of interesting blossoms or birds, I speeded my horse through this
place; but now, through the gate covered with morning frost, I leave as
a priest,"⁴⁰ and added a poem:

Did I ever think
I should be able to cross
Mt. Utsu again
In a dream or, in reality
As a priest?⁴¹

In the mountains I met a mountain priest, and I was reminded of the

famous words that not even in a dream would one meet anyone here.⁴² I wrote:

If I had someone I loved
Back in the capital,
I would entrust a message
To the mountain priest of Mt. Utsu,
But I met him in vain
[Because I have no loved one.]

At Tegoshi Stage,⁴³ at an inn where I had once stayed, I begged for food. Since nobody recognized me, I threw a message into the inn with these words:

Surely they expected me
To return to my home
Dressed in brocade
And not in the grey dress of a priest.⁴⁴

After I left the Kiyomi Barrier,⁴⁵ I continued my journey in the company of an ascetic who sent me a poem at Kambara Stage⁴⁶ where he remained:

Though our destinations differ
We all go home,
Men and geese alike,
After having abandoned
The splendor of the capital.⁴⁷

I replied

Why must I still say today
That I have abandoned the flowery capital?
Don't you know
That I have already
Forsaken the colors of the world?

I wrote this on [the trunk of] the Pine Tree of Kurumagaeshi [Returning Wagons]:⁴⁸

The towering crest of Mt. Fuji
[Smoke] has begun
To rise over it.⁴⁹

When I stayed in the mountains of Izu, I often woke to the sound of ocean waves so loud that they seemed to be washing nearly up to my pillow:

Awakened by
 The sound of the waves,
 I pass from dream to reality.
 If I could only wake like this
 From ignorance and worldly passions.

I reached Kamakura on the twenty-ninth of the second month and performed betsuji nembutsu⁵⁰ at the hall where the personal Buddha statue of the Nun of the Second Rank [Masako]⁵¹ was installed from the fourth day of the third month. While I did so, as the spring drizzle was falling quietly, there was one flower among all the blossoms which opened and seemed to smile at me alone, as if it had not a care. That reminded me of the past [Shōgun Sanetomo]⁵² and, mingling with the drizzle, my tears soaked my sleeves.

Remembering
 Those years of the past
 When the spring rain fell,
 Dripping off the temple's eaves,
 The raindrops echo my thoughts.

On the night when, after the rainy days, the moon came out for the first time, I wrote this on the wall of the inn:

Moonglow and springtime
 Are unchanged since the past.
 Only I am no longer the same
 With my sleeves
 Soaked in tears.⁵³

I passed one moonlit night in prayer at my Lord's grave. I felt as if I could still have seen his image in front of me, and, while my heart suffered, the pine wind was blowing with increasing strength against the moonlit former palace [of the late Shōgun]. I fully and vividly remembered everything from the past to the present, from the time I began serving the Shōgun at his tent until that evening, and I could not forget him although he is no longer of this world. I could never forget the time [of his cremation] when we saw him off quite unexpectedly as he turned into smoke. And not even the smoke, which rose toward the dawn sky after the firewood had burned out, knew whither it would go as it merged with the hovering mist. I was reminded of the poem: "I have passed through bamboo grass. . . o"⁵⁴ Although it was not dawn now, and although the tears

I shed on my way home would have outnumbered the morning dewdrops, I knew it was futile to be distressed or grieved over his death or over the realization that seven years had already gone by, day by day, like a dream [since he died].⁵⁵ Of course one should not complain or grieve over the rules of life and death; yet when the Buddha passed away on the fifteenth day of the second month, the sky was darkened by the smoke of the cremation rising from the forest of saul trees which turned white like the feathers of a crane,⁵⁶ and no one, not even the saintly disciples who had already attained enlightenment,⁵⁷ failed to grieve. Even inanimate things like the grasses and trees, as saddened over the death of their lord as if they themselves had been about to die, took on a color of mourning. How, then, could I, a common and simple-minded mortal, living in a wretched and degenerate world, possibly avoid shedding tears on my sleeves and letting my grief be heard? Seeing that the morning sky was exactly the same as on that earlier occasion, I composed this poem:

The face of the dear one
Vanishes like the moon
Veiled in the mist of spring
In the sky at dawn -
So painful to look upon.

He [Lord Sanetomo] was born into a distinguished noble clan which descended from the imperial family, and although his family had been professional warriors for generations, he achieved a rare excellence in the Chinese classics, which he had studied extensively. He was like Liang Chang,⁵⁸ who studied military tactics so that he could execute his strategic plans from within his tent [headquarters]. I am sure he must have known the rule: "Refine your native [Japanese] talents with the help of Chinese skills." He furthered the flourishing of Japanese poetry; and though my relations with him were those determined from generation to generation by a vassal's oath of loyalty to his lord, I can hardly forget the favors he extended to me at such times as when he viewed the blossoms, heard the cuckoos cry, or gazed at the moon or the snow.⁵⁹ Our trust was deeper even than the drifts of winter!

Under the shadow
 Of what shinobu-grasses
 Can I now see the dew
 That reminds me of the favors
 He showed me in his poems?⁶⁰

Having dismounted in Musashi Plain, I composed this while I let my horse graze:

I am going to spend a night
 In the fields of Musashi Plain
 I have been longing for them
 Because of their purple grass.⁶¹

When I saw Horikane Well⁶² I realized that nothing here was changed since the past and felt sad that I was the only one who was no longer the same:

Though I hear it was hard
 To draw water out of Horikane Well,
 Now more than ever
 My tears are flowing
 As I remember the past.⁶³

At Irumagawa [Iruma River] Stage I inscribed this:

I have forsaken my family
 And entered upon the true way
 Longing to be as selfless
 As the waters flowing
 In the Iruma River.⁶⁴

I passed the night at the foot of Mt. Hakō⁶⁵ of Kōzuke Province and composed this the next morning when I heard the cuckoo call:

At dawn
 In the mountains of Hakō
 Of Kōzuke
 I hear the cuckoo
 Call twice or thrice.⁶⁶

Gazing at the smoke of Mt. Asama:⁶⁷

Is this the evening smoke
 Rising from Mt. Asama
 Which is so famous?
 It looks like a white cloud
 Lingering at the summit
 In an otherwise cloudless sky.

In the past when I served my Lord [Sanetomo], I had a friend who was, like myself, a poet, but since I am now on the path of those who have forsaken the world, he has become to me a man as far away as the clouds of Mt. Asakura.⁶⁸ This man, Iga no Shikibu Mitsumune,⁶⁹ lived near Mt. Obasute⁷⁰ as if buried deep in the valley like columbine. Even though, as a priest, I should be detached from all things, I felt pity for him, and, thinking that this would really be a good opportunity for me to show him sympathy, I decided to pay him a visit. Yet when I reached the place where he lived, I found a simple hut built of miscanthus reeds, and while I was comparing this with the splendors that had surrounded him in the past, suddenly there appeared at the corner a boy who seemed to wonder what kind of a beggar I was and apparently did not recognize me. Then another boy, who knew me, came out and quickly went in again to announce my arrival, whereupon the astonished master of the hut came out to meet me. Before I could utter a word, I was overcome by tears. The master of the hut said: "Imagine what goes on in my mind when I pass the short nights of spring and the days of autumn in such an old hut! I have nothing but my bare body, a body changed so much that I could not imagine anyone who would remember me, let alone visit me. But now [that I see you] I am indeed glad to have kept myself alive in spite of all the hardships."⁷¹ I felt complete sympathy. The young boy had no feeling for our reunion and kept following us begging us to play with him, which moved me to tears. My friend said that he felt he should have abandoned the world [like me] and that he envied me, but that the world is too fearful for a punished person like him, and, moreover, he could not bring himself to abandon his children. Hearing this, I was saddened over how much one can go astray in the darkness of one's heart.⁷² I left his hut promising to meet him again if life permits, and as the moon shone in the cloudless sky I sent him this poem from a nearby place:

In a mountain village
 Where everything makes you feel sad
 Beyond consolation,
 Were you the only one
 Who saw the moon?⁷³

He replied:

Since my heart
Remains
In its darkness,
It is of no use for me
To look at the moon of Mt. Obasute.

He sent a poem to me at the Zenkō-ji Temple. The place where he, the Shikibu, lived in seclusion was called Omi.⁷⁴

If you do not forget,
Please come and see me again
At Omi
Even if I should then
Wear the dress of a priest.⁷⁵

I replied:

I will visit you soon again
At Omi, to see
How your dress looks
In the color of the mountain indigo.⁷⁶

At Zenkō-ji Temple on the fifth day of the fifth month I sent the following to my fellow traveler:

Would I have thought,
Having changed my dress
And replanted the iris,
That they both would root
In the pond that hates the world?⁷⁷

He replied:

Having lived so long
I am weary
Of wandering
Like a floating weed [iris]
About a world so wretched.

From the Zenkō-ji Temple I returned [to Kamakura] to pay a visit to the Nun of the Second Rank [Masako], but found out that she had already passed away.⁷⁸ Though one should not be taken aback over the laws of transience, I remembered her saying that she had decided to go on a pilgrimage by all means in the autumn. I shed, on the sleeves of my priest's robe, tears which were not likely to dry for quite some time. For people who live in the city or who hide in the mountains, for both

alike, life is an unescapable road leading into death no matter how much one prays to the gods or laments to the Buddhas. Among those who served the Nun were many warriors who would rather have died placing themselves in front of their shields than retreat from the point of the enemy's spears. But they were defenseless against temporality and could do nothing but see her off as her body changed into the smoke that mingled with the cloud on the top of Mt. Fuji. I grieved in sympathy:⁷⁹

It is of no use
For us to cry
Over her demise;
She is all alone now
In crossing the mountain of death.

Though one should not harbor a lingering attachment to a person who died at the age of seventy,⁸⁰ it was sad indeed to see her smoke depart before my eyes. I felt hardly able to bear the sight of the moon, which I had become used to gazing at, for, like my priestly dress, the autumn evening had adopted a color of mourning.

In the autumn night
When my tears fall
Like dew from the crimson leaves,
The moonlight too is changing its color
When reflected upon my sleeves.

Though I know the laws of life and death, I felt sad that her death did not deeply disturb me.

Nothing disturbs me
When I see
This transient world of ours
As if it were
Merely a dream.

With the sadness over his [Lord Sanetomo's] death in that spring of long ago still lingering in my heart, now, in addition, another sadness, one of autumn, added to the flow of my tears, so I sent this to a certain person [a former retainer of Shōgun Sanetomo]:

The mist of spring
Of the day he died
Has not yet cleared -
Now, I go even more astray
In the evening fog of autumn.

He replied:

When upon the mist
Which has not cleared since spring
The fog is lying -
One might say it is
Darkness within darkness.

When the great Minister [Sanetomo] passed away, each one of his surviving retainers entered the priesthood. What shall we do, I thought, now that she [the Nun of the Second Rank] has also passed away?

On what path
Shall I stray this time? -
Having already abandoned the world
When he [Sanetomo] died.

Again, I sent this to a certain person:

Even in the autumn evenings
When I was free of worry
I soaked my sleeves incessantly
With tears as numerous as the dewdrops.
[Now of course I am sad to face the death of the Nun.]

Since I no longer needed to stay on in Kamakura I set out toward my native province to undergo Buddhist discipline, and, passing through Musashi Plain I saw [many] maiden-flowers:⁸¹

The maiden-flower
Standing in the plain
Of Musashino -
Someone may take her for a wife
Living in hiding.⁸²

One rainy morning, as I was pushing my way through the fields [I thought]:

It is of no use
To dye my clothes
With the bush clovers [as they often do]⁸³
Because mine is a black robe
Which should show no mark of other colors.

Again, as I walked along the fields I saw the maiden-flowers yielding to the wind:

Maiden flowers!
Are you too yielding,
Like the dew

That falls in the evening
 Unable to resist the autumn wind?

While on a visit to my old home during my pilgrimage, I was reminded by my children that this year was the thirteenth anniversary of the death of my wife.⁸⁴ Hearing this I felt sad, wondering why, in spite of the transiency of life, in which one never knows who is going to die first and who later, I was still alive:

Since you departed,
 My life, as fragile as a dew drop,
 Has not yet vanished⁸⁵
 As I now encounter autumn
 Thirteen years later.

I could not help but feel pity for my children, whom I had not seen for a long time. They seemed troubled, telling me with tears in their eyes that they wanted nothing more than to enter Buddhist life and go to the capital to take care of me.

As I see the tears of my children
 At my old home
 My heart returns to the days of old
 Though I now wear a black robe.

Thinking that this would be the last time I would meet my children in this world, my heart weakened. Yet I could not ignore the principle of transmigration through the Three Realms;⁸⁶ I realized that final parting is inevitable⁸⁷ and that the bonds between parents and children are after all not so strong. I gave up my attachment to them:

It would grieve me
 Again to part from my children,
 If I did not think
 Of the ultimate parting
 Which never fails to come.

3) MIYAKO NO TSUTO (Souvenir for the Capital)
by Priest Sōkyū

The author of the Miyako no tsuto, if we can believe the postscript written by the Nijō School poet Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388) in 1367, was the Priest Sōkyū (dates unknown).

Sōkyū was well-known, and had four poems included in imperial anthologies (Shinshūishū, Shingosenshū, Shinzoku kokinshū) under the name of Priest Sōkyū. The Nenjū gyōji utaawase (1366) records "Sōkyū, a priest from Tsukushi (Kyūshū)." ² The Chokusen sakusha burui (manuscript in Tōkyō University Library) gives his family name as Taira Ōinosuke. And, according to the Shinshoku kokinshū, Sōkyū was associated with Ton'a (1289-1372), who with Yoshimoto was a Nijō School poet. Poets of this school at that time had written a number of poetic diaries--e.g., the Kōya nikki by Ton'a and the Ojima no kuchizusami by Nijō Yoshimoto.

Sōkyū composed the Miyako no tsuto between the years 1350 and 1352. These dates can be approximated thanks to a mention of Sōkyū in the Michiyukiburi of 1371, according to which Imagawa Ryōshun (1325-1420) met Sōkyū during the latter's trip from Kyūshū to the east, which forms the first part of Miyako no tsuto. Ryōshun was then on an official mission to Kyūshū. ³

MIYAKO NO TSUTO (Souvenir for the Capital)

In the era of Kan'ō (1350-1352) there lived a recluse.⁴ I did not have an iron will which could enable me to run through walls; yet I had yearned for many years to live under the trees and on the rocks [as the

Buddha Shakyamuni did}o With the thought that there is no place where one can stay forever, I left Tsukushi [Kyūshū] and wandered around without destination. Since I had an opportunity to visit an acquaintance of mine, on my journey I slept among the clouds of Mt. Ōe⁵ and dwelled in the dew of Ikunohara,⁶ and wandering around in this fashion, I arrived at a place called Mt. Iya⁷ in the province of Tamba.⁸ Although I did not go so far as to ask for a place in which to retreat permanently, I spent the remainder of that year there.

In the spring of the following year, about the third month, I moved to the capital and stayed there for two or three days, during which I visited such places as Kiyomizu [Temple]⁹ and Kitano [Shrine].¹⁰ From there I resolved to head for Azuma [the East] to undergo Buddhist discipline. It was still night when I left the capital. The light of the dawn moon was reflected upon the waves of the Higashi River,¹¹ and I heard from a distant village the calls of the birds that had not yet ceased their morning chatter. There I was drawn by the view of the mist, which softly covered the sky.

After a while I passed Mt. Ausaka.¹² The road which ran under the cedar trees was still shrouded in darkness so that I had to scrape my feet along the barrier stones in order to find my way. Thus, in no time, the capital receded far behind me, and I felt as if I had already covered three thousand leagues. Yet it seemed that my mind was more attached to the capital than to my native country.¹³ I spent the night at Ishiyama [Temple]¹⁴ sitting up and praying fervently that I might attain the supreme Bodhi heart.

The next morning I was accompanied by another person who was leaving the Temple, and passed by Shiga Bay¹⁵ as the sun rose. When I saw in the distance the wake of the rowboats, I remembered the poem, "What should the world be compared to?"¹⁶ which the famous Mansei Shami¹⁷ composed. The head priest of the Ryōgon-in [Temple] of Eizan [Enryaku-ji Temple at Mt. Hiei]¹⁸ had prohibited poetry, saying that it is just a transient pleasure, until one day when he was at the Eshin-in [Temple] at dawn, he looked out upon the lake [Lake Biwa] and saw the boats moving far away on the water. It is said that when he heard someone recite this

poem, he felt that poetry can help people attain a state of enlightenment. He subsequently composed many poems about the Twenty-eight Chapters [of the Lotus Sutra]¹⁹ and about the Ten Pleasures.²⁰ Now, seeing the same view myself, I thought that the story must be true.

While passing by Mt. Kagami [Mirror Mountain],²¹ I felt shy in my new priest's dress, and did not feel quite the same as the poet who said, "Let us [stop and] have a look [at Mirror Mountain]."²² I wrote:

Do not say that I came
And looked at you,
Mt. Mirror,
For I do not like my image
Nor making a name for myself
In this world.

As the days went by during my journey on the road to the East, I passed through famous places such as the Fuwa Barrier,²³ Narumi Beach,²⁴ Mt. Takashi,²⁵ Mt. Futamura,²⁶ and now I was already at Mt. Saya no Naka [Saya no Nakayama].²⁷ This is the place where the famous Saigyō wrote: "Would I have thought / That life permits / Crossing again."²⁸ I was moved and felt sympathy with him. There are, it seems differing opinions as to whether one should say Saya no Nakayama or Sayo no Nakayama. It is said that when Chūnagon Moronaka²⁹ went to this province of Suruga³⁰ as governor, the local people said "Sayo no Nakayama," so the poets of the Heian period [794-1185] also wrote it in this fashion in their poems. I believe I have seen it also in this way in [imperial] anthologies of poetry. Minamoto no Yorimasa of the Third Rank³¹ said Nagayama [instead of Nakayama] At this occasion, when I asked an old man who happened to be there about the matter, he replied at once "Saya no Nakayama":

When I ask
The name of this place,
The echo too says:
Saya no Nakayama.

Then I passed over Mt. Utsu³² in Suruga Province. The road was covered with ivy still decked in young leaves, and I imagined the beauty of its crimson [leaves] in autumn:

When they turn crimson in autumn
 They must be as lovely as in a dream -
 These young ivy leaves
 That I now see in reality
 At Mt. Utsu.

I stayed overnight at KiyomiBarrier,³³ and when I left the next morning before dawn, I continued my musing:

When at Kiyomi Beach
 The sea is opening its gate
 For daylight to enter
 How can you see [and let pass]
 The traveling moon,
 Guard of the Barrier?

The sleeves of my travel dress became soaked with sea water [not that I could tell when they did] by the waves of the Bay of Tago³⁴ -- about which I have heard that on certain days its waves do not rise.³⁵ Looking over toward Mt. Fuji, I saw it through a deep mist, so that I could not agree that it knows no season. One could clearly see the snow lying on the high peak, reflecting the morning sun, and it looked like a mirror suspended in the sky. It was beyond description.

Covered with mist
 The high cone of Mt. Fuji
 Is said to know no season.
 How marvelous it looks
 On this early morning in spring.

Because the smoke has ceased completely
 To rise above
 The peak of Mt. Fuji,
 The snow that fell on it
 Will never vanish.

After that, I traveled through Ukishima Plain³⁶ and went to offer prayers at Hakone [Gongen Shrine].³⁷ If it were not for the renewed vow of the Avatar, I felt, there would not be such water [Lake Ashi] on the top of this mountain.³⁸ It was mysterious indeed. This place, I believe, is said to be the Land of the Dead on earth. In the appearance of the place, too, there are many unusual features. A still wind blew constantly over the waves [of the lake], making them very fierce

At Hakone
 Where the mountain storm
 Blows over the lake,
 I felt that bitter melancholy of not seeing clear
 In the long night of ignorance.

Then I reached a place called Yamanouchi at Kamakura in Sagami Province,³⁹ where I went to see an old acquaintance of mine. On being told that he had passed away, I looked at the place where he had lived and realized more than ever how evanescent the world was.

When I visited the place
 Where he lay
 Under the moss,
 The moon moving across the sky
 Was enveiled in mist
 As if she too had tears in her eyes.

After finding a temporary lodging in that area, I stayed for some days. There were many itinerant priests, one of whom told me about a sage who lived in Takaoka in Hitachi Province,⁴⁰ and I immediately decided to pay a visit to him. He lived in a temple called Hōunji, and his name was Sōi Anju.⁴¹ He was one of priest Kūgan Oshō's⁴² favorite disciples. He was said to have received training with Chūhō⁴³ of Temmoku⁴⁴ and others.⁴⁵ I felt that if one is to abandon the world, this is indeed how one should do it, and so I built myself a hut three ken square out of miscanthus in those mountains and passed the summer there. I also heard about a priest who had lived for a long time as a recluse at Mt. Tokusa in Kai Province.⁴⁶ I called on him, too, at his mountain cave, and stayed there for a while before I started on my way back to Hitachi Province. I went along the endless road of Musashi Plain⁴⁷ as the sun set, and though I was traveling with many other itinerant priests, we all spent the night together outdoors, sleeping on pillows of grass that we had bundled together for the night. While doing so, I heard that the reason the poet had composed the poem, "Do not set fire today,"⁴⁸ was that there were also robbers in these fields long ago. Although I thought that the robbers of today would not go so far as to set the fields afire, yet after they robbed us even of our priestly robes, I realized all the more the wretchedness of spending a night here while traveling.

Can one become a priest
 Without realizing the wretchedness of the world?
 Not even the Plain of Musashi
 Is safe from its wretchedness.

After that, while I was still seeking wise men here and there, I happened to live a long time at a place called Mt. Chichibu.⁴⁹ There I met a saint who would never go into the village, not even for a short time, and who was called "Bearded Priest" by the villagers. Nobody knew where he came from or anything about his family background. I stayed there during the winter, and, when spring came, I crossed over to Kōzuke Province,⁵⁰ where I quite unexpectedly found a person who offered me shelter for a night. It was in the beginning of the third month, and there was something elegant about the misty moon shining through the plum tree, its blossoms already scattered away, that stood near the eaves of the house. With its pine posts and bamboo lattice fence, the house had a rustic appearance. There is good reason to live like that, it seemed to me, and when the master came out to meet me, he asked me graciously about the hardships of my travels. He asked in detail about my decision to abandon the world and said: "Though I too realize its impermanence, I could not abandon the world. I had too many responsibilities in it, and these I have continued to deal with and have lived till today desiring only to become a priest. After our talk this evening, I am now more ashamed than ever of my neglect of my heart and my inability to reject the world." So saying, he urged me to stay there for a while and rest from the fatigue of my travels, but since I had an urgent matter before me, I left, pledging that I would certainly come again in the autumn. When I returned that autumn around the eighth month, anxious to learn how he had fared, I called at his hut and was told that he had died and that they were going to hold the service of the seventh day after his passing. Words cannot say how strongly I felt the evanescence of life. It was heart-breaking indeed to think: "If only I had come a little earlier--he had looked forward so much to seeing me--though he knew that the world was a deceitful place, he must have regarded my promise as only a casual remarko" When I asked how he had passed away, they told me that he was speaking my name until he breathed his last and everyone cried. That life

is nothing but waiting for death came as no surprise to me, but I never realized until then the speed with which death overtakes life. The people told me that he was devoted, above all, to composing poetry. I inquired about the most cherished desire he had in life and following my inspiration, I wrote a few words on the wall of the inn before I left:

About the tenth day of the third month of this year, I happened, while traveling far and wide in the country, to follow the fragrance of the plum blossoms, which guided me to a simple hut of eastern style. Under its eaves I had the elegant experience of composing poetry while looking at the moon. I spent the night with the master of the hut, who talked with me about the past and present. As we discussed Chinese and Japanese poems, I found some relief from the melancholy of travel. My heart became attached to this temporary place, yet I hurried on like the clouds that roam for thousands of leagues. I left him, pledging to come again during the three months of autumn. To fulfill my reiterated pledge, I revisited this place, but found that this person had already died. I was thus unable to spend another enjoyable evening with him. The desire to see him burned in my breast, and tears of affection soaked my sleeves. My grief over his death is so overwhelming that I can hardly express it. Although this [poetry] is said to be a mistaken game of ornate words, can it not also become a means to praise, in some way, the Buddhas?⁵¹

Having come to the place
Of sadness and tears
I asked where he was,
But all I could hear
Was the wind blowing under the plum tree
As in that spring of the past.

Evening breeze
Blow under the moon
And into the shadow of the grass
Where my dear friend
May be losing his way.

Feeling life on earth to be all the more dreary, I wandered without aim and happened to pass through Muro no Yashima,⁵² which made a deep impression on me. Though I left the capital in the spring, it was the end of autumn now as I crossed this Barrier [Shirakawa];⁵³ therefore, I felt convinced that it must have been true that Nōin, the acolyte of

Kosobe wrote: "I left the capital / Together with the [spring] mist / But now / The autumn wind is blowing / At Shirakawa Barrier."⁵⁴ It is said that unfortunately the famous Nōin had never traveled that far to compose this poem and that he had presented a poem he had composed at home where he hid during the time he pretended to have been traveling to Azuma.⁵⁵ I am inclined to believe that he must at least once have carried out the journey he described in Yasoshima no ki.⁵⁶ Even if one does not go so far as to follow the example of Takeda Tayu Kuniyuki, who felt that he could not cross the Barrier without wetting his hair,⁵⁷ one should nevertheless cross this place with a certain sense of respect; but, to my regret, I did not.

Now even in the capital
The autumn wind must be blowing
As here where it is biting at me
At the Shirakawa Barrier.

From there I crossed over to Dewa Province,⁵⁸ where I visited the Akoya Pine,⁵⁹ among other [famous] places. In Michinoku Province⁶⁰ I passed by Asaka Pond.⁶¹ I had heard that since the Middle Captain Sanekata found no irises in this province when he visited here, he recalled the authoritative text which said, "Thatch the roofs with a water-grass," but he ordered that henceforth water oat be used, saying that water grass and water oat are the same.⁶² But in a poem that Fujiwara Takayoshi⁶³ composed at an iris-root competition [neawase] held in the seventh year of Kanji [1093] at the palace of Ikuhōmon'in,⁶⁴ he said:

Iris!
Why have you grown
In Asaka Pond
With roots so long
As to make our arms weary?

Therefore, I had for many years doubted that it was true that there were no irises in this province. Then I asked someone, who told me that it was not true that no irises grew in this province, but that when the Middle Captain came here, he said, "Why should simple-minded people decorate their humble eaves with the same iris that is used in the capital," and ordered that water oat be used; thus the people became accustomed to decorating their eaves with the latter. Hearing this, I felt that his

words might be an explanation. I noted down his remarks, thinking that even in such works as the Fudoki,⁶⁵ which was written according to knowledge transmitted by the elders of this province, such matters were included.

Soon after that, having asked the same person about the road, I traveled toward the village of Yamada.⁶⁶ There on the coast was a grass hut, which though built without any aim at elegance whatsoever, had a room arranged with great beauty, which was why I stayed there. Time passed until after the tenth day of the ninth month, when I heard the deer bell nearby through the blast that blew down from the mountains behind. In front of the hut, one could follow upon the waves, which stretched out into the distance, the reflection of the midnight moon, and it refreshed my heart to hear the cries of plovers calling to one another at frequent intervals. The next morning I came across a wide field, and inquiring about its name, I was told that this was Hashiri Well⁶⁷ and that it had been so named, as I recall, because travelers here ran on as quickly as possible to escape from the numerous mountain robbers who attacked people on this outlying and deserted road. On this journey, sometimes I slept alone with my sleeves as my pillow, exposed to the mountain blast, and sometimes I slept on the dew of the plains. At other times, I was awakened from my dreams by the lashing waves at the cliffs, and I soaked my sleeves with the tears I shed over the hardships of sleeping outside. Sometimes I knew that autumn was ending because I chanced to hear the chirp of dying crickets as I lay on my pillow of grass; and sometimes I could tell the time only from the sky at the rise of the moon.

As I thus wandered without destination for over twenty days after I had crossed the Shirakawa Barrier, I came to a wide river. This was none other than the Abukuma River,⁶⁸ a name which, when I was still in the capital, sounded like a very remote place, and I realized how very far I had come. The ferryman poled the boat to the shore, and as we travelers left, after getting in and scrambling for seats, I saw smoke rise from between the mountains far in the distance. I asked the boatman about it and was told that ever since the Kamakura Shōgunate fell as a result of the civil war of Genkō [1331-1334],⁶⁹ this smoke had never ceased to rise

into the sky. I found this very strange.

Beside the road I took after getting off the boat, there was a mound. It looked to me like the work of travelers who had passed this place, and a large number of Chinese and Japanese poems were written on trees that stood nearby. One of the people there told me that this was the grave of an ancient Chinese named Tō Hei-ō, who died here yearning for his home, and that it was probably because of his homesickness that the grass and trees on the mound all leaned toward the west [China].⁷⁰ A sad story indeed, I felt. It reminded me of the story of the color of the grass which grew upon the grave of the famous [Ō] Shō-kun.⁷¹ I reflected that if one should die while on a journey, the smoke of the cremation at midnight would surely float in the direction of one's home; then I became annoyed at our attachment to the floating world. Seeing many pine trees growing side by side upon the mound, I assumed with pity that they must be Unai pines.⁷² They reminded me of the examples from old tales.

Why can we not forget
Our home
Even after we die?
Is our longing so strong?

I left this place too, and spent a night under the shade of the pines of Takekuma,⁷³ appreciating the moon shining through the trees, and as I crossed the Natori River,⁷⁴ I felt sad at the sight of water that flows away never to return. So much dew fell from the trees of Miyagino⁷⁵ that I truly had no time to put on a hat to keep it off,⁷⁶ and the varied colors of the flowers looked like spread-out brocade. Among them there was in the village of Motoara⁷⁷ a group of bush clovers which differed in color from those of other places, and, breaking a bunch of it, I put my thoughts into this poem:

Since when
Has the village of Motoara,
Which is famous for
The bush clover flowers,
Become a wasteland?⁷⁸

A long time ago this region was inhabited, but now nothing is visible in

the field except a temple-hall thatched with grass. I gazed at the flowers here, too, sadly remembering the poem: "In the past / People felt sad / Fearing that the flowers would wither."⁷⁹ Regarding the bush clover of Motoara, I had heard that the name refers to flowers which bloom on the old branches left over from the field burnings of the spring of the previous year. These are then also called kohagi [small bush clover.] Probably they are more vigorous in branches than the ordinary bush clover and are more coarse. Assuming that someone had once mentioned "the cherry blossoms of Motoara" in poetry, I asked a person, who replied, "Probably yes. But the poem must have been composed after the meaning of the village name." Only then did I understand.

I reached Taga, the capital of Michinoku Province,⁸⁰ and from there I went on the Okuono Hosomichi Road⁸¹ southward to visit Sue no Matsuyama.⁸² Looking over the pine forest in the distance, it seemed indeed [as the poem says] that the waves spill over the pines.⁸³ Also it appeared as if the fishing boats were floating over the treetops.

As the evening sun
Shines upon Sue no Matsuyama,
The fog vanishes,
And the autumn wind
Scurries over the waves.

At sunset I reached Shiogama [Bay]⁸⁴ The sacred symbol of the shrine was nothing other than the [famous] cauldron for producing salt. I passed the night [praying] in front of the sanctuary. From a bridge which crossed high over an inlet that faced toward the east, a road stretched out into the distance. Another road in the shadow of the mountains followed the shore. The many smoke wreaths rising from the numerous fishermen's houses clustered together made me believe that they arose from cauldrons in which salt was being boiled down. The ropes by which the boats were moored to the beach⁸⁵ attracted my heart, probably owing to the specialty of this place, and the rhythm of the oars heard continuously under the drifting moon made a strong impression on me. I felt that a man of old had good reason to say, "Among the more than sixty provinces ruled by our Mikado, there is no place like Shiogama."⁸⁶

Together with the moon
 Of dawn
 Are the boats
 In the Bay of Shiogama
 Rowing far away?

From there, following the beach, I visited Matsushima.⁸⁷ It really seemed to be inhabited by fishermen of good taste. I also heard that there was a Buddhist temple called Empukuji⁸⁸ here, founded by Kakuman Zenji and inhabited by a hundred monks.⁸⁹ In the front, toward the south, the temple grounds bordered on Shiogama Bay. Although they [the islands in the sea] are called Chishima [Thousand Islands], they seem even more numerous. Among them is one called Oki no Tōjima, which lies far out in the sea. Between it and the village, one could see many little islands. To the east of Matsushima, linked to the coast by a bridge, lay an island on which stood a long temple hall called Godaidō⁹⁰ because it contained statues of the Five Great Wrathful Gods.⁹¹ Close by the island beach, which lay in the shadow of the hills that stretched out toward the south, was a narrow path paved with boulders. I went along the beach to take a closer look and saw that the path led to a promontory overgrown with leaning pines, the tops of which were sprayed by the waves. Thus it seemed as if the boats were being rowed through the green of the lower branches of the trees.⁹² From there, only a small distance away was a small island, probably the island of Ojima [Male Island].⁹³ The island was linked to the shore by a rope along which a boat went back and forth. On this island stood a temple in which an Amida triad in raigo position⁹⁴ and a Jizō Bodhisattva⁹⁵ were installed.

About one chō [approx. 100 meters] to the south of Ojima, I was attracted by a place where pines and bamboo grew side by side and the ground was covered with thick moss. This was where the bones of the dead of this province were buried. In addition, one could see in great quantity the hair shaven off the heads of those who took the tonsure. Feeling deeply moved by the place, I stayed three days.

The nameless dead
 Of this province
 Are as numerous

As the islands of Matsushima
And the tears shed at Ojima Beach.

Now, I thought, it was time for me to go back, and I trod the same road that I had come on. As I again crossed Musashi Plain, I met quite unexpectedly with a person from the capital who asked me about the way of poetry. I also met a couple of past acquaintances, which greatly delighted me, and I continued my journey with them. I really felt it to be the fondest souvenir of my journey that we could tour Horikane Well⁹⁶ and other places here and there together. It must have been like this, I thought, when Priest Sosei met the Middle Captain of the Fifth Rank at Mt. Utsu.⁹⁷ Since it would have been regrettable to pass by the famous Sue no Matsuyama and only glimpse it on the way, and since there are two anecdotes--one about a man of taste long ago who was proud to keep a chip of wood from the piles of Nagara Bridge⁹⁸ and another about [someone who saved] a mummy of a frog from the village of Ide⁹⁹--I thought: why should we not look for souvenirs? When I showed my companion what I had gathered--pine cones from among the fallen pine needles and shells that looked like the empty shells of Shiogama--he replied in this manner:

At Sue no Matsuyama
I wear a pine cone
Of the mountain on my head,
But it will hardly keep one dry
From the spray of the waves.¹⁰⁰

I replied:

Although the waves did not splash over me,
Even my sleeves are soaked
At Sue no Matsu[yama],
Where I slept on my journey
Wearing a pine-cone hat
Under the shade of the pine trees.¹⁰¹

Anyway, I realized that our friendship would never be forgotten even if these cones should decay, and I soaked the sleeves of my travel dress even more with my tears. Then my companion again wrote:

It is not worthwhile
Looking at the sea shells
Of Shiogama Bay
Where you must have gone alone
Without me.

I replied:

If you do not cease thinking ill of me
Because of Shiogama Bay,
It will be worthless
To collect sea shells
For you.¹⁰²

As I thus wandered to my heart's desire, the days passed by and I became anxious to get home. Although I did not pursue a definite course toward home, I made speedy progress on the way back, but I do not know why. One day, when I awoke from an old man's sleep at a travel inn, I faced the wall and wrote down by the last flickerings of my oil lamp, in order not to forget, my impressions of the famous places I had seen on my way just as they came into my mind, and I brought these notes with me to the capital as a souvenir of my journeys.

[Epilogue]

Once there lived a man called Sōkyū, who was a priest. He was a man of exquisite taste, giving his heart to the blossoms, and dedicating his thoughts to the eight-fold winds. There was no place in the vast land that he desired to settle down in, and he wandered about aimlessly like the dew on a floating weed drawn by the currents. When blossoms came out at Miyoshino in spring, he intended to seclude himself beyond the mountains,¹⁰³ and when the moon was bright in Musashino Plain in the autumn, he sought shelter there, longing to be near the purple grass.¹⁰⁴ Everywhere he sought to express his feelings in the thirty-one syllables. Among the sages of old too, some gave themselves to their love for bamboo, and others boasted that their passion was to compose poetry. This person [Sōkyū] was also such a one. He always kept a small inkstone under his black priest's robe, and along with his old walking stick that he had long cherished, he carried a short writing brush. Although he did not yearn for the snow at dawn at Yen Ch'd River,¹⁰⁵ he liked nothing more than to visit old friends who loved poetry. He did not hear the rain during the night at Lu Shan,¹⁰⁶ but he never failed to express his feelings about things that moved his heart to sadness. I think it was in the era

of Kan'ō [1350-1352] that he started on his journey across Mt. Ōe,¹⁰⁷ through Ikuno Plain¹⁰⁸ until he floated upon the waves at Shiogama in Michinoku Province, leaving his thoughts whenever he would go through famous plains and mountains and writing poems in the shadow of tall grasses and trees that inspired him. Although he was not the author of the poem, "The pine of Aneha," he wrote down his travel notes and entitled them Miyako no tsuto (Souvenir for the Capital).¹⁰⁹ One may say that his notes are a foolish pleasure, but why could they not serve as a lesson on how one should express one's feelings? I could not resist expressing my feelings of admiration, and this is why I add briefly these unrefined words.

In the spring of the sixth year of Jōji [1367] I noted this after I had read it once more.

Gofukōon Sesshō
Kairorōkai [signature]
[Nijō Yoshimoto] .¹¹⁰

4) ZENKŌJI KIKŌ (Account of a Journey to the
Zenkō-ji) by Priest Gyōe

Priest Jōkōin Gyōe (1430- sometime after 1498) probably associated himself with the Mountain Ascetics (Shugen Sect) of Mt. Haku (Toyama Prefecture) as indicated by his having begun his journey from the (Hakusan) Kanetsurugi Shrine and by the final poem of the Zenkōji kikō. In this poem, Gyōe clearly indicates his religious association with Mt. Haku, a center of the Mountain Ascetics. By this association he deserved the name of "Kaga no Kuni no Fuji no Bō" (Priest of the Fuji Lodge of Kaga Province)¹ which proves that Gyōe was a priest (Fuji no Bō) of Kaga Province where Mt. Haku is located.

As a poet, Gyōe followed Gyōkō (1391-1455), a member of the orthodox Nijō School of poetry.² Gyōe must have entered Gyōkō's school at an early age, for Gyōe was only 26 when Gyōkō died in 1455. Before his teacher's death, Gyōe is recorded to have composed poetry with Gyōkō at the latter's retreat and to have accompanied him to the hot springs of Arima (Hyōgo Prefecture). An epilogue written by Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388), later attached to the Zenkōji kikō is further indication of Gyōe's association with the Nijō School.

Gyōe is given as the author of the Zenkōji kikō in the Gunsō ruijū text.³ His private collection of poems entitled Shitabashū⁴ gives his birthdate as 1430; he was 35 when, in 1465, he wrote the Zenkōji kikō. In addition to poetry, he wrote commentaries on the classics, for instance, the Kokinshoku sōden kikiqaki, Kokinshū ketsumyaku shō, Kokinshū engo ki,

Gumon kenchū shō, etc. After the *Zenkōji kikō*, he left us with another travel diary, the *Hokkoku kikō* of 1486, written at the age of 51.⁵

ZENKŌJI KIKŌ (An Account of a Journey to Zenkō-ji)

Around the beginning of the seventh month of the sixth year of Kanshō [1465],⁶ I decided to carry out a pledge made many years earlier to go on a pilgrimage to the Zenkō-ji Temple. I started out on my journey from Kanetsurugi Shrine⁷ but rested for a while in a grass hut in the village to prepare myself for the journey. Then I left before dawn of the fourth day [of the month] and at daybreak I was about to cross Mt. Tonami.⁸

The clouds vanishing
From heavenly Mt. Tonami
Dimly visible at daybreak
Are perhaps the signs of
The first wind of autumn.

On the same day I crossed Futakami River:

Flowing in a single riverbed
How can the white waves
Of its waters
Be called
Futakami [Two Upper Rivers]⁹

After a while I came upon the area of Fuse Lake¹⁰ and, looking over the wide lake, I realized that the cawing crows had already ceased to fly and that the evening sun had already set behind the western mountains.

After the sun
Has set
Without leaving any traces
The light is growing dim
Over Fuse Lake!

I asked for the whereabouts of Tago Bay, where [Ōtomō no] Yakamochi¹¹ had enjoyed the view, but nobody could tell me exactly where it was.

Not knowing where he [Yakamochi]
Adorned his hair with the wisteria of spring,
I shall do the same
With the autumn waves
Of Tago Bay!

That night we arrived at a place called Nago,¹² and I was reminded
of Chang Chi who passed a night at Feng-ch'dao:¹³

It is dawn!
Awakened from my dreams
I see above the waves
The remains of what was once
The joint bridge of Nago.

When daylight came, I soon went over to the area called Mizuhashi.¹⁴

In vain
Do I expect
A bridge at Mizuhashi [Water Bridge]
As there is no other means to cross the river
Than by taking a boat.

While crossing I saw the pure white snow lying upon the thousand peaks of
Mt. Tate.¹⁵

Is it cold - the autumn dress
Of Mt. Tate -
Woven by the clouds
And the warp of snow
And the mountain wind?

Having heard that Ariso¹⁶ was the name of the shore stretching along
the entire province [of Etchū], I did not need to ask where it was. At
that time the sky was clear and the forty-eight arms of [the delta of] the
river Kurobe, famous for being difficult to ford, belied their reputation;
and though the sun was not shining for my benefit alone, I was nevertheless
glad that the fine weather had made the going easy for me.¹⁷

Even the waves sing
In the delight of being well governed
and I count the paths
Of the sand
Of the sea of Ariso.

In the course of my journey, I came safely through the cliffs of
Echigo Province, along a precipitous and dangerous mountain road, and
reached a place called Jōdo [Pure Land].¹⁸ Realizing the law that man is
able in a single moment of consciousness to produce the Four Buddha
Hearts,¹⁹ I felt indeed that I had reached the limits of the Western Pure
Land where laymen and the saints alike dwell.

Since I have now come
 To this awareness,
 Even the simple truths
 Are but a short distance
 From the entrance into Paradise.

Leaving this place, I soon arrived at Oyashirazu.²⁰ Looking at the precipitous cliffs soaring thousands of feet into the air, I completely lost my sense of being. As far as one could see, the waves rolled, one after another, as ceaselessly as waters cascading down a cliff. Except for my tiny shadow, there was no friend I could have turned to [for help in passing through this dangerous place] and it seemed that I had no other choice but to entrust myself to the everpresent Mercy. Thus I imagined I would leave the Reward Land of that Buddha [Amida]²¹ and be filled with anxiety about transmigration,²² realizing that even if a parent at Oyashirazu sought [to protect] his child, the child would not realize it [so much has everyone been on his own here].

Life is like this
 Hurrying along the cliffs
 Having no more time than the short span between waves
 One forgets even
 The injunctions of mother and father.

Soon afterward, I came upon Uta no Hama [Song Beach].²³ It happened to be the day of the Tanabata Festival,²⁴ when offerings were presented to the stars, and I thought that this was indeed a wonderful coincidence. I saw that many gaily decorated boats had been brought together.

Even the simple boatmen
 Seem to have deep feelings
 When at Uta no Hama
 They offer the stars the poems
 That they had quickly written upon leaves of the Kaji tree.²⁵

Walking on for a while, I came to a river called the Itoi River.²⁶

However one may
 Hate the world,
 At the Itoi River [World-hating River]
 Even a hermit [like myself]
 Cannot know his destination.

The next day was the eighth, which was the festival day [of Mt. Yone]. Trusting to the merits of the day, I decided to climb Mt. Yone.²⁷ When I had gone up the long way to the top and surveyed the scene from the summit, it seemed to me as though the mist-shrouded mountains must reach into heaven:

As the clouds vanish
The mountains seem
Like the waves rolling one after the other
For thousands of miles
In the breeze of autumn.

Finally, as I staggered down the mountain, and, at the bottom of the clouds, heard the muffled bell of a secluded mountain temple, I became soaked to the skin by the evening shower. Since even my sleeves became soaked as I repeatedly shook the raindrops from my robe, [I was glad] finally to be able to take a rest at the inn at the foot of the mountain. In spite of the rain clouds still obscuring the sky in the early morning of the following day, I again took to the road, which brought me to a secluded village called Hanagasa.²⁸ Feeling completely disconsolate in the darkness which dominated my spirits, I wrote:

Soaked and tired, I have come at last
To Hanagasa Village
Where the voice of the nightingale
Cannot be heard
In the autumn rain.²⁹

I pushed my way into what I thought was Mt. Seki [Mt. Barrier]³⁰ from where, I heard, the endless road [to Michinoku] began, and paid a visit to Priest Kaigei, who had formerly lived at the Western Quarter [Saito of Mt. Hiei]. I showed him a letter that my venerable teacher Ryūun had written for me as a guide for my journey.³¹ Reading it, Kaigei said: "Is this real or just a dream of bygone days?" and we talked about things of the past as if they were happening now. The next day I crossed into Shinano Province. Along the road, I inquired about the whereabouts of Mt. Asama,³² which was in the same province, but the mountain was so enveiled in the distant haze that even the villagers were at a loss to explain to me where it was:

Neither the villagers
 Nor the smoke
 Betrayed the whereabouts of Mt. Asama;
 Only the white cloud
 Lingering above in the cone [could tell]o

Toward the end of the Hour of the Bird,³³ I went to the main hall [of the Zenkō-ji Temple] to offer prayers. There quite unexpectedly I found a temple guide, [with whose assistance] I spent the night in front of the altar. Also I performed the ruridan meguri.³⁴ Realizing that, in truth, I was allowed to do this because of the considerable merit I had accumulated in my previous lives, I shed profuse tears of joy, and when my thoughts traveled back to the past when the Tathagata first made his appearance in our country,³⁵ I composed these lines:

Like the moon of dawn
 That shone in ancient times through
 The reeds of Naniwa Bay,
 Though we are laden with the sinful dust of the world,
 Shine upon us still [Amida]!³⁶

Until the sky dawned the moon was very clear. Thinking about Mt. Obasute,³⁷ I wrote:

I cannot go myself
 But my heart ventures alone
 To Mt. Obasute in Sarashina
 Where the moon must be shining
 On this autumn night

In the early morning of the fifteenth, looking back toward the temple lodge [where I had stayed for several days], I went on to Mt. Togakushi, arriving as the evening sun was sending its last rays over the earth. I presented prayers at the double fence [that encircled the temple], and then climbed to the Upper Shrine [Okuono In], from where I saw the two peaks [of Mt. Togakushi], one to the south and the other to the north, surpassing in height all other surrounding mountains which seemed piled one upon the other. The latter consisted of rocks of differing shapes and sizes and of all colors, heaped together. Some of the numerous peaks were overgrown by strange trees and herbs; some looked like figures of Buddhas and bodhisattvas who had appeared in this world, and others looked like heavenly beings or sages dancing. Altogether the entire place seemed to me

as if it were the very Paradise of Kannon. The Upper Shrine, located half-way up the northern peak, was built inside a large cave that faced toward the east. The deity enshrined there was Tajikarao.³⁸ In the spirit of the deity, I wrote:

Even the pine tree
Which took root
Inside the cave
Closed by a holy fence
Must be the work of the deity.

At the same place:

Even the mountain blasts
cannot penetrate this cave.
They echo from deep in the valleys
Of Mt. Togakushi.

On the sixteenth I again passed the night in the mountain hut of Priest Kaigei. I could not leave without thanking my host for his hospitality, and, since he seemed kinder than ever, I composed this poem:

While the sleeves upon which
I shed tears of friendly converse
Are still moist,
Once more I am staying
In the same lodge as before.

The place where I stayed overnight on the seventeenth was a fisherman's hut at the beach of Fuchū.³⁹ Through the leaves of the reed thatch I could gain an unhindered view of the moon rising in the sky. It shone until it reached the edge of the western sky at the hour of the Tiger [3:00-5:00 a.m.] when it seemed to be shining upon my native land far away, so I composed this poem:

Carry to my friends at home
The promise that we shall die together
In the province of Koshi⁴⁰
Upon our pillows of grass, wet with dew
On which lies also the light of the moon.

Traveling through many clouds and much mist, I wandered as far as the beaches of northeastern Etchūō. On the twenty-first I started out early in the morning under a strikingly blue and cloudless sky and entrusted myself to the guidance of the road. [On my way down] I gave up

trying to find the Hayatsuki River⁴¹ since I could not find anyone to tell me exactly where it was. But when [a while later] I did ask about its whereabouts, I was guided to a large riverbed in which a tiny stream flowed down toward the sea, into which the lingering moon seemed to be sinking.

When the moonlight
Which dwells upon the waves
Disappears at dawn
Then only the name remains
On the waves of Hayatsuki [Early Moon] River.

All journeys, however long, come to an end, and I finally reached the frontier of my home province. There is of course a charm to each land, but I felt that there was no place superior to the mighty Mt. Haku,⁴² to which I offer prayers every day. Seeing it floating above the clouds, its blueness deceiving the sky, I wrote:

Back home
In awe I look upon
Mount Haku, which
I have longed for through my travels
And which now towers above the clouds.

**NOTES,
BIBLIOGRAPHY,
AND MAPS**

Notes to the Introduction

1. a) "Tōkwan Kikō," transl. by Snellen, Commemoration Volume: The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Zaidan-hōjin Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai or Meiji Japan Society (Tōkyō, 1937).
- b) Edwin O. Reischauer, transl. "Izayoi Nikki," in Translations from Early Japanese Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).
- c) Earl Miner, transl. "The Tosa Diary," in Japanese Poetic Diaries (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).
- d) Karen Brazell, transl. The Confessions of Lady Nijo (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1973).
- e) Arthur Sadler, transl., "The Ise Daijingu Sankei-ki or Diary of a Pilgrim to Ise," Meiji Japan Society (Tōkyō, 1940).
- f) Eileen Katō, transl. "Pilgrimage to Dazaifu: Sōgi's Tsukushi michi no ki," Monumenta Nipponica, vol. xxxiv, no. 3, autumn 1979 (Tōkyō: Sophia University).
2. These are some of the most common categories of utamakura one can find in early utamakura dictionaries such as the Nōin utamakura (in Nihon kagaku taikai, vol. 1 (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1957)) ascribed to the poet-priest Nōin (988-1050).
3. Ancient place names were at the same time indirect appellations of local deities (e.g., Asuka nimasu kami = resident deity of Asuka).
4. Kaneko Kinjiro, Sōgi tabi no ki shichū (Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1970), p. 92.
5. Seeop. 63.
6. Meant by "quasi-official" are those travel diarists who were motivated by semi-official purposes to travel (for instance, a legal affair or an invitation extended to a poet by a feudal lord), and not of their free will.
7. Mogami no kawaji, Miyakoji no wakare in Asukai Masaari nikki, annotated by Sasaki Nobutsuna, Koten bunko, vol. 25 (Tōkyō: Koten Bunko, 1949) and Haru no miyamaji in Zoku gunsho ruijū, revised third edition, vol. 18, part 2 (Tōkyō: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kansei-kai, 1957) (Nikki-bu).
8. All in Gunsho ruijū, vol. 18, Kikō-bu.

9. In Mizuhara Yoshio, annotated, Minamoto no Michichika nikki zenshaku (Tōkyō Kazama Shobō, 1978).
10. Gunsho ruijū, vol. 18, Kikō-bu, revised third edition (Tōkyō: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kansei-kai, 1959).
11. Izanami no Mikoto, according to the Kojiki of 712.
12. See note 1/b (supra).
13. In Gunsho ruijū, vol. 18, Kikō-bu.
14. Donald Keene, trans., An Account of my Hut-[Hōjōki] by Kamo no Chōmei, in Anthology of Japanese Literature--from the earliest era to the mid-nineteenth century, compiled and edited by Donald Keene (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1960).
15. Included in (Kokubun-) Tōhō bukkyō sōsho, vol. 7, Kikō-bu, annotated by Washio Junkei (Tōkyō: Kokubun Tōhō Bukkyō Sōsho Kankō-kai, 1925).
16. This is the case in both the Miyako no tsuto (here included) and the Kaikoku zakkī.
17. Imoto Nōichi, et al., annot., (Kohon-) Bashō zenshū, 6 (1962), p. 212, n. 43.
18. For instance, Ishida Yoshisada, Inja bungaku, Hanawa Shinsho, 17, 3rd ed. (Tōkyō, 1973), p. 112.
19. Honchō bunshū part 515 entitled: "Preface to the poems presented by Sensai Shōnin of Chukyō-ji Temple as a confession of the sins of poetry," vol. 55, Kokushi taikai, 30 (Tōkyō, 1966), p. 236.
20. Karen Brazell, trans., The Confessions of Lady Nijo, p. 251.
21. Both travel diaries can be found in Gunsho ruijū, vol. 18, Kikō-bu.
22. Ionushi honbun oyobi sakuin, Masubuchi Shōichi (Tōkyō: Hakuteisha, 1971), p. 2. Suminoe is an old name for Sumiyoshi.
23. Gunsho ruijū, vol. 27, Zatsu-bu (Tōkyō: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kansei-kai, 1933), pp. 411-13.

Notes to Takakura-in Itsukushima Gokō Ki

1. The Takakura-in shoka ki, annotated by Mizuhara Yoshio, Minamoto no Michichika nikki zenshaku (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1978).
2. For more on Michichika, see Mizuhara Yoshio, annot. Minamoto no Michichika nikki zenshaku (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1973), pp. 15-110;

Kuwabara Hiroshi, "'Minamoto no Michichika-den Sobyō,'" in (Yamagishi Tokuhei sensei shōhyō-) chukō bungaku ronkō (Tōkyō: Yūseidō, 1972); and "Minamoto no Michichika no bungaku," Kubota Jun, Bungaku, vol. 46, no. 2 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1978).

3. In 1179 a conflict emerged between Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181), a powerful military leader and ex-Emperor Goshirakawa (r. 1156-1158) who tried to confiscate Taira family lands. Kiyomori had Goshirakawa arrested and confined. It is supposed that Emperor Takakura abdicated in favor of Antoku, a grandson of Kiyomori, to alleviate the punishment inflicted upon his father, ex-Emperor Goshirakawa.
4. Also called Miyajima, Saeki-gun, Hiroshima Prefecture. It is an island to the southwest of Hiroshima Bay. The Itsukushima Shrine lies on the northern side of the island. It became the family shrine of the Taira (also referred to as Heike) in 1146 when Kiyomori became Governor of Aki Province (roughly Hiroshima Prefecture).
5. The Crown Prince, son of Taira no Kiyomori's daughter, Empress Kenreimon'in. He reigned as Emperor Antoku from 1180 to 1185, when he drowned at Dannoura (Yamaguchi Prefecture).
6. The Sacred Mirror (Yata no Kagami) is one of the Three Imperial Regalia and symbol of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, the ancestral deity of the imperial family. It was guarded by female members (Naishi) of the Bureau of Palace Equipment, Maintenance Housekeeping, at the Naishidokoro or Ummei-den, a building of the Imperial Palace. The Sacred Sword is also one of the Three Imperial Regalia and symbols of imperial authority.
7. Kandachime: Higher courtiers (ministers, great and middle councillors and imperial advisors) of the third and higher ranks.
8. A corner of the palace where the courtiers gathered for certain festivals and court ceremonies.
9. Minister of the Left: Fujiwara no Tsunemune d. 1189.
10. For Naishi see note 6. Ben is the name of this particular Naishi.
11. Pure Cool Hall (Seiryō-den): A building of the Imperial Palace located west of the Shishin-den (Purple Dragon Hall), where emperors had their living quarters.
12. Yasumichi, dates unknown, was Middle Captain of the Left Guard. Later became Acting Great Councillor but entered the priesthood in 1208.
13. Bitchū is the name of this particular Naishi.

14. Middle Captain Takafusa: Fujiwara no Takafusa married a daughter of Taira no Kiyomori. At the time of the imperial pilgrimage he served as Middle Captain of the Left Guard. He entered the priesthood in 1206.
15. Here the Sento Gosho (Sento Palace).
16. Shortly after his accession it was customary for a new emperor to bestow the title of the retired emperor upon his predecessor.
17. One of the temporary palaces (sato-dairi) frequently occupied by emperors from the middle of the Heian period (794-1185) on. It burned down in 1208.
18. The Kan'in Palace where Takakura resided ceased to be an imperial palace after his retirement until Emperor Antoku also took his residence there. The poem probably implies that it is important for the ruling emperor to know time (for his various ceremonies) whereas it is not so important for a retired emperor.
19. Imperial offerings to shrines usually consisted of a living or wooden horse, a ceremonial dress, sacred paper, a mirror, a sword, a spear, a bow and arrows, a koto, and other ritual items. All these gifts had to be new and unused.
20. Kamo: Shimogamo Shrine, Kamigyō-ku, Kyōto (Kamo Mioya Jinja); and Kamigamo Shrine, Kita-ku, Kyōto (Kamo Wakeikazuchi Jinja).
21. The Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine is located at Yawata-shi, Kyōto Prefecture. The deity Hachiman (of War) was transferred here from Usa (Kyūshū). At the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185-1333), it became the family shrine of the Minamoto (or Genji) clan.
22. This is an indication that probably Kiyomori himself decided that Takakura should take this imperial pilgrimage. Times were rough because Kiyomori still held ex-Emperor Goshirakawa under house arrest.
23. On the fourth fell the cyclical signs of the Hinoe-tatsu which were considered auspicious. This day the Retired Emperor moved to the Tsuchimikado Residence.
24. Sanekuni: Fujiwara Sanekuni, d. 1183.
25. Daijō Tennō: An honorific title given to retired emperors.
26. Kunitsuna died in 1181. Tsuchimikado and Takakura was at the cross-roads of Takakura Street (North-South) and Tsuchimikado Avenue (East-West).
27. Regent (Sesshō) Fujiwara Motomichi, d. 1233.

28. The Retired Emperor was accompanied by ten higher courtiers (kanda-chime) and 35 lower courtiers (tenshōbito).
29. Empress Kenreimon'in (Taira no Tokuko) (1155-1213).
30. It is recorded that on the sixteenth priests of Mt. Hiei's Enryaku-ji, Onjō-ji (Mii-dera) and of Kōfuku-ji (Nara) Temples plotted to free ex-Emperor Goshirakawa and to prevent ex-Emperor Takakura's pilgrimage by force.
31. Hachijō residence: Residence of Taira Tokiko (d. 1185) the mother of Empress Kenreimon'in. Since Tokiko held the second rank, it was also called the "Palace of the Second Rank." This refers to the formal but not the actual beginning of the imperial pilgrimage. At such formal starts of journeys, important persons often moved just a few streets away to stay with relatives.
32. After visiting the Gojō (Fifth Street) residence of Fujiwara no Kunitsuna, where the Emperor Antoku was staying, he paid a visit to his sister who was in service to Kenshumon'in (Taira no Shigeo 1142-1176), an imperial concubine, at the latter's residence at Seventh Street. "This world of ours" is a reference to a poem by High Priest Henjō (no. 757, Shinkokinshū).
33. Fujiwara Yorisuke was not a messenger sent by the Emperor but by Taira no Tokitada who wanted to remind the Retired Emperor that he should proceed on his journey according to schedule.
34. The Retired Emperor had never before left the capital.
35. Takasue: Fujiwara Takasue, who entered the priesthood in 1182, died in 1127.
36. Kusatsu: River harbor at the confluence of Kamo and Katsura Rivers. Now, Hōden-ji, Shimotoba, Fushimi-ku, Kyōto. The tent (or shade) protected people from sunshine or rain.
37. Second emperor Yang-ti of Sui Dynasty (r. 581-618) who forced heavy taxation on the people and was assassinated. Here Michichika means that the Retired Emperor did not cause a heavy burden on his people.
38. The spoken passage includes the words: "kono tabi" (this time, this occasion, this trip) can also mean "this cremation." This double meaning was considered highly inauspicious.
39. Kan'in Pond: Pond of the Kan'in Palace. The boats used in this pond were small, of Japanese style and provided with dragon heads.
40. For Takasue see note 35. Dazaifu is the name of the military headquarters of Kyūshū.

41. For Sanekuni see note 24.
42. For Kunitsuna see note 26. Gojō (Fifth Street) was the location of Kunitsuna's residence.
43. Michichika: the author.
44. For Takafusa see note 14.
45. Ben Kanemitsu: Fujiwara no Kanemitsu, who died in 1196.
46. Munenori: Taira no Munenori (dates unknown).
47. Munemori: Taira no Munemori (1146-1185), son of Kiyomori, became Minister of the Right in 1182.
48. Shigehira: Taira no Shigehira (1156-1185), son of Kiyomori and Head Official of the Sovereign's Private Office.
49. Tokizane: Taira no Tokizane, d. 1213. At the time he was Middle Captain of the Guard and Former Governor of Sanuki Province; hence the name "Middle Captain of Sanuki." According to this list, there were only three lower courtiers: Takafusa, Kanemitsu and Munenori. The author's listing the Taira as "sono hoka" (besides) indicated the fact that the Taira were still not considered part of the traditional aristocracy.
50. Mizu Harbor: Now Mizu, Yodomachi, Fushimi-ku, Kyōto. Exact location is unknown because the riverbed has since shifted. In Heian times the confluence of the Kizu, Uji, Kamo and Katsura Rivers was further to the south.
51. Yawata: see note 21.
52. Emperors usually underwent purification rituals before they went on pilgrimages to the Kamo and Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū shrines. Purification is attained by water ablution and offerings. Here it is performed by the Head of the Palace Cleaners, Abe no Suehiro. The offerings were not the usual gifts to a shrine but objects such as paper or straw dolls, sacred rice or a dress; objects with which one imbues all one's impurities, in order to become free of defilement. These offerings, once presented to a shrine, were usually burned or floated downriver.
53. Terae: Now Kuise, Amagasaki-shi, Hyōgo Prefecture. It was the location of Fujiwara no Kunitsuna's mountain villa.
54. For Kunitsuna see note 26.
55. Tsuridono (Fishing Pavilion): An aristocratic residence in the shinden style usually has, on the bank of its pond, a pavilion.

Kunitsuna's villa served as temporary palace. The pond was directly linked with the sea from where it drew its water.

56. Fukuhara: Now Hyōgo-ku, Kōbe. The Heike tried to transfer the capital from Kyōto to Fukuhara in the year this pilgrimage took place (1180). Taira no Kiyomori received the Retired Emperor at Fukuhara; he had sent the boat and message. The junkso(?) were used in the China trade promoted by Kiyomori.
57. For Munemori see note 47.
58. Nishinomiya: Nishinomiya Shrine, now Iemachi, Nishinomiya-shi, Hyōgo Prefecture.
59. Naruo no Matsu (Naruo Pines), now Naruo-machi, Nishinomiya-shi, Hyōgo Prefecture. It is a famous place in poetry, an utamakura.
60. Toga Slope: Now Hyōgo-ku, Kōbeo(?). It is the location of Taira no Yorimori's mountain villa.
61. The Three Thousand Worlds (trisāhasra-mahāsāhasrāḥ lokadhātavah) also called daisen-sekai, sanzen-daisen-sekai. One billion worlds, constituting the domain of a Buddha. A world consists of the world of desire (yokkai) and the first heaven of the world of form (shiki-kai). One thousand times one thousand makes one billion. (Acc. to Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary (1965), p. 761).
62. Ikuta no Mori (Ikuta Forest): Now Ikuta Shrine, Ikuta-ku, Kōbe. A famous place of poetry; it is an utamakura.
63. The Thirty-six Caves of the Immortals were believed to be situated somewhere between heaven and earth.
64. Vestal virgins of Itsukushima: Miko who perform dances (kagura) in front of the sanctuary. Here they entertained the Retired Emperor.
65. Kiyomori's mountain villa served as the Retired Emperor's temporary palace.
66. These poles, of a height of about 6 yards, were used in certain Gagaku (court) dances of Korean origin.
67. A Gagaku dance of Chinese origin.
68. Li-ts'eng may be a mistake for Li-yuan (Pear Garden) of the Imperial Palace of Ch'ang-an (China) where three hundred of China's best musicians and actors were kept.
69. Duke Hsien (Lu Yang) of Ch'u (Warring Period 403-221 B.C.). The story is recorded in the Huai Nan-tzu, which is the title of the works of Han Dynasty philosopher Huai Nan-tzu, d. 122 B.C. An English translation was published under the same title in 1935 by Kegan Paul (London).

70. As to possibly evil designs by Kiyomori.
71. Yao and Shun are mythical emperors of China who embody imperial virtue.
72. A reference to the story of Emperor Hsuan-tsung (r. 712-756) of T'ang who fell in love with Yang Kuei-fei (d. 756) a dancer of barbarian origins. While the Emperor neglected state affairs, Yang Kuei-fei's other lover An Lu-shan (d. 757) (also a barbarian) prepared a rebellion against the Emperor. "The people" here refers to to the concubines and officials of the Emperor who, expecting that An Lu-shan would become the next emperor, learned this foreign Hsuan dance to gain the favor of the next emperor.
73. Meaning there was a danger to the throne inside the palace in the person of Yang Kuei-fei and a danger to the throne outside the palace in the person of An Lu-shan. The author expresses here a suspicion, maybe held by many courtiers at that time, that there may be a parallel between An Lu-shan and Yang Kuei-fei and Kiyomori and the Empress Kenreimon'in, his daughter. However, later in the text, the author dispels such fears. Michichika refers to a passage in vol. 3 of Hakushi monjū (in Chinese Pai shih ch'ang ch'ang chi) a collection of poems by Hakushi (Po chū-i) (772-846) which were well known in Heian period Japan.
74. Wada no Misaki (Cape Wada): Now Hyōgo-ku, Kōbe.
75. Suma no Ura (Suma Bay): Now Suma-ku, Kōbe. It is a famous place in poetry.
76. Takakura traveled this portion of the journey on palanquin and not by boat.
77. Harima Province: Southwest of present Hyōgo Prefecture. Inano: between Akashi and Takasago (Hyogo Prefecture). It is a famous place in poetry.
78. Yase Fellows (Yase Dōji): Men from Yase village (now Sakyō-ku, Kyōto) who were believed to have descended from a demon and who were used as palanquin carriers. High Priest Kōken died in 1193 at age 84.
79. Yamadao Now the shore of Nishimaiko, Tarumizu-ku, Kōbe.
80. Akashi no Ura (Akashi Bay): Now Akashi-shi, Hyōgo Prefecture.
81. "A certain person": Ariwara no Yukihiro (818-893), poet of the Kokinshū and hero of the Nō play Yukihiro.
82. Takasago no Tomari (Takasago Harbor): Now Takasago-shi, Hyōgo Prefecture.

83. The messengers (fu) were sent back home, entrusted with various messages. The place names mentioned here are used both as place names and in their semantic meaning; e.g., Suma for 'sumu' (to be clear) and Akashi for 'akasu' (to pass a night). 'Urami' (ill feelings) is used for 'urami' (looking out on the bay). There are obviously illusions here to the place of exile of Prince Genji according to the Genji monogatari (Tale of Genji) chapters 12: "Suma," and 13: "Akashi."
84. Muro no Tomari (Muro Harbor): Now at Mitsu, Hyōgo Prefecture.
85. Ieshima: Now Ieshima, Hyōgo Prefecture. Main island of the Ieshima Islands, located in the Inland Sea.
86. Muro Harbor was famous for its pleasure girls. The comparison of the pleasure girls with the foxes is a reference to a Chinese story recorded in vol. 4 of Hakushi monjū. According to the story, an old fox turned himself into a beautiful girl.
87. Kamo: Kamo Shrine, Murotsu, Mitsu-shi, Ebo-gun, Hyōgo Prefecture. A branch shrine of the Kamo Shrine in Kyōto.
88. Awaji Island lies between Kōbe and Shikoku, Hyōgo Prefecture.
89. Bizen Province: Now southeast of Okayama Prefecture. Kojima no Tomari (Kojima Harbor): Now Kojima-gun, Okayama Prefecture. Exact location unknown.
90. Dengaku: Popular dances of Heian and later periods.
91. Sushi: Popular dances of the Heian and Kamakura periods, often performed at certain Buddhist rituals by Buddhist priests (hō-sushi) representing Deva Kings and demons, etc. They were also performed at shrines and at court during certain festivals. The dancers dance accompanied by a flute, drum and chanters (sarugaku sushi).
92. "Lay Priest and Prime Minister" both refer to Kiyomori, who accompanied the Retired Emperor until the mouth of Takahashi River, Okayama Prefecture.
93. Branch shrine of the Yawata Shrine. There are a number of Yawata Shrines in Okayama Prefecture. Maybe this one refers to the one located in Gōnai, Kojima-gun.
94. Semito: Exact location unknown. Maybe present Shami, Asaguchi-gun, Okayama Prefecture. Bichū Province: Western part of present Okayama Prefecture.
95. Mumajima: Umajima, Toyota-gun, Hiroshima Prefecture. Aki Province: Western part of present Hiroshima Prefecture.
96. Miyajima: See note 4.

97. Yin-yang practitioners: Here Taira no Tokizane and Abe no Suehira (?).
98. Hu-hsin: A temple located in the middle of Western Lake, Chekiang Province, China.
99. Ari no Ura (Ari Bay): East of the great gate of Itsukushima Shrine.
100. The residence of the vestal virgins of Itsukushima Shrine probably served as temporary palace. A covered passageway linked the palace with the harbor.
101. Nobusada: May be Kiyowara no Nobusada (dates unknown).
102. Tokimune: Taira no Tokimune (dates unknown).
103. Northern Guards: Guards of the retired emperors established by ex-Emperor Shirakawa (r. 1072-1086).
104. Marōdo no Miya: Shrine located north of Itsukushima Shrine.
- 105o Koto: Seven-stringed instrument. Biwa: Four-stringed instrument. Hyōshi: Clappers.
106. Kagura: Dances performed in front of the sanctuary of a shrine. Here they are performed at Marōdo Shrine.
107. Sutras were frequently copied by hand and presented to temples or shrines. Lotus Sutra: Saddharma pundarikā-sūtra, explains that the Buddha has attained Buddhahood in the remote past and that he has eternal life. Divided into 28 chapters, the Juryō-bon is chapter 16. Jumyō-kyō: Bussetsu issai nyorai Kongo jumyō darani-kyō. Sutra in which the Buddha expounds the secret formulas. It is recited as a prayer for long life.
108. For High Priest Kōken see note 78.
109. Hōgan: A high rank in the hierarchy of the Buddhist priesthood.
110. Chief Shrine Priest: Saeki Kagehiro. The Saeki were a powerful local family.
111. Most Shinto shrines at that time included a Buddhist temple (Jingū-ji). Ajari: Official Head Priest. According to the Gempei seisui ki his name was Son'ei Shōnin.
112. Sugawara no Arisune: Governor of Aki Province.
113. Mt. Miyama: Mountain to the northeast of Itsukushima Shrine. Venerated as a sacred mountain, it was named Miyama by Kōbō Daishi (774-835), who gave it the name in reference to Mt. Shumi-sen.

114. Sogō: A dance of Gagaku. For Komaboko see note 66.
115. Taki no Miya (Waterfall Shrine)α Located about 800 yards to the south of Ōtsukushima Shrine, on the slope of Mt. Miyamao. Visits to the waterfall seem to have been made predominantly at night either to appreciate the white threads of the falling water or to see the fireflies.
116. A reference to King Huai who dreamed of the heavenly girl of Wu-shan (a mountain in Setchuan Province)ο
117. Poet of the T'ang Dynasty (772-846). The quotation is from vol. 8 of Hakushi monjū.
118. There were 56 notable places on Miyajima.
119. For Ari Bay see note 99.
120. On the first day of the fourth month people changed from winter dress to spring dress.
121. Minamoto no Yasusada (dates unknown)q of the Offices of the Great Council of State.
122. Kiyomori was preparing to establish the capital at Fuku-hara.
123. Arata: Now Arata-chō, Hyōgo-ku, Kōbe.
124. Sukemori: Taira no Sukemori was promoted to Junior Fourth Rank, Upper Class.
125. Kiyokuni: Fujiwara no Kiyokuni was promoted to Senior Fifth Rank, Upper Class.
126. Mt. Hiei: Mountain to the northeast of Kyōto. Headquarters of the Tendai Sect of Buddhism.

Notes to Shinshō Hōshi Nikki

1. For details about Zenkō-ji Temple, see op. 115, note 35.
2. Regarding this school, see Ishida Yoshisada, "Utsunomiya kadan to sono seikaku," Kokugo to kokubungaku, no. 22, Dec. 1947.
3. Azuma kagami, Nihon koten zensho, comp. by Yosano Kan, Masamune Atsuo et al., vol. 22, pp. 135-137.
4. Shinkō gunsho ruijū (Tōkyō Nihon Koten Zensho Kankō-kai), vol. 7, p. 258.

5. Azuma kagami, vol. 22, comp. by Ueda Mannen and Wada Mankichi et al. (Tōkyō: Naigai Shoseki K. K.), p. 137.
6. Shugyō no toki, Dainjōgū ni mairite--Shinwakashū, Shinkō gunsho ruiju, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 269.
7. Shokushūishū, Kokka taikan, Kashū-bu, p. 330.
8. Kokushi taikēi (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan), vols. 58-60.
9. Zoku gunsho ruijū, vol. 152 Keizu-bu, part 17 (Tōkyō: Keizai Zasshi-sha).
10. Shinshō, Shinshō Hōshi nikki in Sasaki Nobutsuna, "Kamakura jidai no nikki bungaku," Nihon bungaku kōza (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 1928).
11. Shinshō alludes here to poem no. 952, Kokinshū, vol. 18 (zō, part 2):
Can we find a caveo/ In which one can liveo/ Without hearing abouto/
The bitterness of the world?
12. Shinshō alludes to a poem in Kokin waka rokujo, vol. 6: Although I
hate the world,o/ Is there a placeo/ Where one can hideo/ Underneath
the blossoms of the mountain pears? 'mountain pear' (yama-nashi)
includes in 'nashi' the notion of 'there is not.' This means that
there is no place where one does not see the mountain pears, there-
fore there is no place in particular where one can hide.
13. This was the year during which nengo (era name) was changed to
Karoku under the reign of Emperor Gohorikawa. This was the fourth
year after the Jōkyū Civil War of 1221 and the year in which the
Nun of the Second Rank (Hōjō Masako) died.
14. Quotation from a Chinese poem by Ōe no Asatsuna (Wakan rōeishū).
15. This line is borrowed from a poem by Po Chū-i (Wakan rōeishū).
16. This line is borrowed from a poem by Minamoto no Shitagō (Wakan
rōeishū).
17. Ausaka (Ōsaka) Barrier is located between Kyoto Prefecture (Yamashiro
Province) and Shiga Prefecture (Ōmi Province). It was established in
646 and became disused in 795. A famous place of poetry (utamakura).
18. Famous (utamakura) place. Now Ryūō-machi, Gamō-gun, Shiga Prefecture.
19. Since Buddhist priests have their heads shaven, no white hair betrays
their age.
20. Old name for a part of Toriimoto-machi, Hikone-shi, Shiga Prefecture.
21. Quotation from an unknown Buddhist text.

22. A quotation from an unknown Buddhist text.
23. "my life too will vanish" = "hakanaku narumigata" is a pun for the name of the place where the poem was composed: Narumi-gata (Narumi Bay). In "At the end of my life" ("mi-no-owari") there is in 'mino' and 'owari' puns for the provinces of Mino (now Gifu Prefecture) and Owari where Narumigata is located. Narumigata: Nagoya-shi, Aichi Prefecture.
24. Quotation from Zazensammai hōmon kyō (Sansk., dhyāna-nsthita-samādhi-dharmaparyāya-sūtra).
25. Quotation from Rokudō kōshiki. Kōshiki are ceremonial lectures in which the virtues of one or more Buddhas or bodhisattvas, or a law of Buddhism is expounded. Rokudō refers to the six worlds between which the souls of living beings transmigrate: they move from hell to the worlds of hungry spirits, animals, asuras, and men, and then to heaven.
26. Lit. "across the Sanzu (Styx) River.ō"
27. A quotation from a passage of the Hokke kyō (Lotus Sutra).
28. Probably a quotation from the Ōjō yōshū (Essentials of Salvation) by Genshin.
29. Lit. "under a thousand branches.ō" A common image in poems about Shinoda Forest. Shinoda Forest: Izumi-shi, Ōsaka-fu.
30. Yatsunashi (Eight Bridges) owes its fame to the Ise monogatari. Chiryū-shi, Aichi Prefecture.
31. According to the Shokushūishū, Priest Renshō wrote a poem onto a tree at Mt. Utsu. In the Tōkan kikō, a poem was written onto a stele. These sources point to the custom of writing or carving poems onto trees, bridge pillars, walls of inns, etc.
32. The name of Mt. Miyaji (Shrine Road) explains the usage of "kami-sabite" (old or divine) in the following poem. Mt. Miyaji: Hoi-gun, Aichi Prefecture.
33. The Hamana Bridge to the West of which lies the Hashimoto Stage. A famous (utamakura) place. The bridge crossed the Hamana River linking Hamana Lake with the ocean. Hamana, Arai-machi, Hamana-gun, Shizuoka Prefecture.
34. What is meant here is that when the author crossed the bridge last time he was on his way to the capital where he took the tonsure. It was therefore for him a journey into the priesthood. Now as he crosses the bridge in the opposite direction it seems as if he were returning to the profane world.

35. A famous place taken up later in the Nō play Yuya. Ikeda, Toyotamura, Iwata-gun, Shizuoka Prefecture.
36. Jijū of Ikeda also appears in the Heike monogatari as the lover of Taira no Munemori. It is unknown, however, if the two Jijūs are the same person.
37. Famous (utamakura) place of Tōtomi Province. After Saigyō, it became customary to allude to old age in poems about this place. The poem includes associations of sound and idea such as 'waga yo' (my life) - 'yo' (night) - Sayo no Nakayama.
38. Located at the eastern foot of Sayo no Nakayama. Kikugawa, Kanayamachi, Haibara-gun, Shizuoka Prefecture.
39. Chūnagon (Middle Councillor) Muneyuki sided with ex-Emperor Gotoba in the Jōkyū Civil War of 1221, but was caught, and, while he was taken to Yaizu to be executed, he wrote this poem onto a pillar of an inn at Kikugawa Stage:

The Chrysanthemum River of Nan'yō Prefecture
Took its source a long time ago
And, flowing downward, sustained its life;
Yet now I lodge on the western bank
Of the Chrysanthemum River of the Tōkaidō Road
And lose my life.

(Azuma kagami, entry for Jōkyū 3, 7th month, 10th day)

The author of the Kaidō ki saw the inscription of Muneyuki's poem in 1223, yet when the author of the Tōkan kikō reached Kikugawa in 1242, the inscription was already lost in a fire. In 1225, when Shinshō visited the inn, the inscription was still there.

40. This passage was probably a Chinese verse originally, but is recorded here in Japanese.
41. Plays on words in relation to the meaning of Utsu no Yama (Mt. Reality) are frequent since the Ise monogatari. Utsu no Yama (Mt. Utsu): a mountain near Shizuoka-shi (city).
42. An allusion to the Ise monogatari.
43. Tegoshi: Shizuoka City. The station was formerly located East of the Abe River.
44. "my home" refers to Shimōtsuke, the author's native province. The line "Dressed in brocade" refers to the legend of Chu Mai-ch'en of the Han dynasty. Chu's wife, who had divorced him when he was poor, committed suicide when she met him later, and found he was now a famous statesman.

45. This barrier, a famous place in poetry, had already by the Kamakura Period fallen into disuse. Now Seikenji Temple, Okitsu-seikenji-chō, Shimizu-shi, Shizuoka Prefecture.
46. Kambara: Kambara-machi, Ihara-gun, Shizuoka Prefecture. It was located East of Fujikawa facing Suruga Bay.
47. "Home-flying geese" is a common poetic image used to express homesickness.
48. A famous utamakura place, the name of which refers to a difficult passage over a mountain.
49. The beginning lines of this poem, probably a reference to the smoke rising above Mt. Fuji, have been lost.
50. Betsuji nembutsu: The invocation of the name of Amida Buddha (Namu Amida Butsu) at certain specific times each day.
51. The Nun of the Second Rank was the widow of the first Kamakura shōgun Minamoto no Yoritomo and mother of the second and the third shōguns Minamoto no Yoriie and Sanetomo. The temple, later called Hokke-dō, is not extant.
52. Sanetomo was assassinated in 1219, during a visit to the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine, on a night of spring rain.
53. This poem refers to no. 747 of the Kokinshū and to the Ise monogatari (4):

Is not the moon the same?
 The spring
 The spring of old?
 Only this body of mine
 Is the same body . . . o

(Tales of Ise, trans. Helen McCullough)
 (Stanford University Press, 1968), p. 71

54. A line from poem no. 622 of the Kokinshū and from the Ise monogatari:

On nights when I sleep without meeting you,
 My sleeves are wetter
 Than when of a morning
 I have passed through bamboo grass
 Crossing the fields in autumn.

Supra (75), p. 91

55. This was the seventh anniversary of Sanetomo's death.
56. From the opening chapter of the Nehan-gyō (Nirvana Sutra).

57. Lit. "who have freed themselves from the Six Realms (of incarnation.)"
Six Realms: Hell, World of Demons, World of Beasts, World of Warriors,
World of Man and Earthly Paradise.
58. A famous statesman and tactician of the Han Dynasty.
59. According to the Azuma kagami, entry for Kenryaku 2/second month/
first day, Sanetomo sent a branch of plum blossoms to the author with
the poem:

I want to show nobody else but you
The first plum blossoms
Blooming on a tree which stands
Near the eaves of my dwelling.

This poem is included in the Shinwakashū (Gunsho ruijū).

My sleeves can hide
Neither my pleasure nor the perfume
Of the twig
You were kind enough to break for me.

60. Shinobu-grass: Lit. grass or fern of remembrance.
61. Musashino (Musashi Plain) is a famous province in poetry often associated with purple grass.
62. Utamakura place of uncertain (disputed) location. Perhaps Horikane, Sayama-shi, Saitama Prefecture.
63. In translating this poem we relied upon the kakekotoba meaning of the place name--Horikane no I (Hard-to-dig-Well). The poem can also be translated:
- Remembering nothing but the past
I now shed more tears
Than ever
When I see Horikane Well
64. The name of the river Iruma-gawa contains in the element 'iruō the meaning of 'enter.ō Iruma-gawa: A river flowing through Iruma-gun, Saitama Prefecture, formerly the origin of Sumida River.
65. Maybe present Mt. Myōgi, Kanra-gun, Gumma Prefecture. A shrine called Hakoso is located on Mt. Myōgi.
66. There is a possible relation between Hakō and the sound produced by the cuckoo. Moreover, the cuckoo was said, in the world of Heian poets, to call only once at a time.
67. A volcano between Nagano and Gumma Prefectures.

68. Mt. Asakura: Asakura-gun, Fukuoka Prefecture. A reference to Asakura Temporary Palace built of logs by Emperor Saimei in 660 during his campaign against Korea. Famous place in poetry.
69. Involved in a struggle for succession to the shōgunate, Mitsumune (1178-1257) was exiled in 1224. He was pardoned in 1225, probably shortly after Shinshō's visit.
70. A mountain famous for the moon in Japanese poetry. Sarashina-gun, Nagano Prefecture.
71. An allusion to poem no. 842 of the Senzaishū:
- Who would remember
And visit me
If I had died
Unable to endure
The hardships of the world?
72. An allusion to poem no. 1103 of the Gosenshū: A parent's love/ Does not lead him / To the path of darkness/ Yet we cannot but lose our reason/ When we think of our children.
73. An allusion to poem no. 878 of the Kokinshū:
- My heart could not
Be consoled
When I looked
At the moon
Of Mt. Obasute in Sarashina.
74. Omi: Omi-mura, Higashi-Chikuma-gun, Nagano Prefecture. Zenkō-ji: Famous temple in Nagano-shi. It contains an Amida triad brought, according to a legend, from Korea at the beginning of the 7th century.
75. Omi, the place name, is brought into a kakekotoba association with omigoromo, the name of a ceremonial dress worn during the Daijō-sai and other imperial ceremonies.
76. "Mountain indigo" here means too, by kakekotoba association, "life in the mountains" and the omigoromo dyed by mountain indigo. The last two lines could therefore also be translated: How your dress reflects / Your solitary life in the mountains.
77. Iris are flowers symbolizing the Boys' Festival on the fifth day of the fifth month. The poem is also included in the Shinwakashū. Who this "fellow traveler" (dōkō) was and from where he accompanied Shinshō is unknown.
78. Hōjō Masako died in 1225, on the seventh day of the eleventh month, at the age of 69.

79. This passage beginning with "Among those who served her . . ." is similar to the one in "Death of the Priest-Premier," Book 6, Tale of the Heikeo

Tens of thousands of Kiyomori's loyal warriors, men who had pledged their very lives to him, had stood shoulder to shoulder in and about his palace, but they could not drive away the messengers of hell.

Trans. H. Kitagawa and B. Tsuchida
(University of Tōkyō Press, 1975), p. 370

80. This perhaps reflects an attitude, commonly encountered among even present-day Japanese, which regards death at old age a congratulatory matter.

81. Musashino: Famous place in poetry for autumn grass, e.g., ominaeshi (maiden-flowers) and hagi (bush clover).

82. An allusion to the Ise monogatari and poem no. 17 of the Kokinshū:

Do not set fire today
To Musashino Plain
For my beloved husband
Is hidden there,
And so am I

(Helen McCullough, trans.)

83. Lit. q to dye a dress with the color gained from bush clover.

84. In 1219 when, according to his private anthology, Shinshō entered the priesthood, he had a girl of 8 and a boy of 7 years of age.

85. Lit., 'evaporated yet' in relation (engo) with dew.

86. The principle that man should roam among three worlds: trayo dhātavah (The world of appetite and sexual desire, the world of form with no appetite nor sexual desire and the world without forms).

87. From the Ise monogatari:

For the sake of sons
Who pray that their parents
May live a thousand years,
Would that in this world
There are no final partings.

(Helen McCullough, trans.)

Notes to Miyako no Tsuto

1. The title "Miyako no tsuto" meaning "Souvenir for the Capital" derives from a poem included in story no. 14 of the Ise monogatari: "Kurihara no / Aneha no matsu no / Hito naraba / Miyako no tsuto ni / Iza to iwamashi." (If the Pine of Aneha at Kurihara / Were but a person long awaited, / I would say, "Come with me as a souvenir / To the capital." (Tales of Ise, trans. Helen McCullough, Stanford, 1968, p. 80).
2. Shinkō gunsho ruijū (Tōkyō, Nihon Koten Zensho Kankō-kai), vol. 4, Kōji-bu, p. 536.
3. Michiyukiburi, Gunsho ruijū, vol. 18, Kikō-bu (Tōkyō, 1959), p. 569.
4. Although this introductory statement is written in the third person (which was not uncommon in travel diary prefaces), the following sentence, using the humble "haberi" indicates a turn to the first person "I."
5. Ōeyama: Mt. Fukō (?) (Kyōto Prefecture), mountain mentioned in poetry and popular legends.
6. Ikunohara: Amata-gun, Kyōto Prefecture, place mentioned in poetry.
7. Iyayama or Hayayama: Unknown mountain.
8. Tamba: Now northwestern part of Kyōto Prefecture.
9. Kiyomizu: Temple of the Hosso Sect founded by Sakanoue no Tamuramaro in 798, 16th of the 33 Kannon Temple pilgrimage. Now Higashiyama-ku, Kyōto.
10. Kitano: Shrine erected in the memory of the statesman Sugawara no Michizane (d. 903).
11. Probably a reference to the Kamo River.
12. Mt. Ausaka (also Ōsaka) Mountain pass and highway barrier between Yamashiro (Kyōto Prefecture) and Ōmi (Shiga Prefecture) Provinces established in 646, disused since 795. It is frequently mentioned in poetry and means Meeting-Barrier.
13. The native place of the author is thought to be in Kyūshū. Yet he says here that he had become an inhabitant of the capital after a long sojourn. To refer to the capital as one's home had become a poetic convention.
14. Ishiyama: 12th of the 33 Kannon Temple pilgrimage. Ōtsu-shi, Shiga Prefecture.

15. Shiga no Ura (Shiga Bay): Now Ōtsu-shi, Shiga Prefecture.
16. What should the world be compared to? / The white waves / Behind the boats / At daybreak. Manyōshū, poem no. 351.
17. Mansei Shami (Acolyte Mansei) lived in the Nara Period (710-784). His exact dates are unknown.
18. The Head-priest of the Ryōgon-in, Genshin (942-1017), wrote the Ōjō yōshū (Essentials of Salvation). In 970 Genshin retired to the Eshin-in (Yokawa) on Mt. Hiei.
19. Lotus Sutra: Most important sutra of Mahayana Buddhism, worshipped by the followers of the Tendai Sect. Many poems (Keishi-ka) allude to the content of the Lotus Sutra.
20. Ten Pleasures: A reference to the Ōjō yōshū.
21. Mt. Kagami: Ryūō-machi, Gamō-gun, Shiga Prefecture. Famous place of poetry.
22. Let us stop / And have a look / At Mt. Kagami (Mirror Mountain) / To see / How old I have become. Kokinshū, poem no. 899.
23. Fuwa no Seki (Fuwa Barrier) was established in 672 and disused in 789. Famous place of poetry. Sekigahara-machi, Fuwa-gun, Gifu Prefecture.
24. Narumi-gata (Narumi Bay): Old name of Nagoya Bay, Nagoya-shi, Aichi Prefecture.
25. Takashiyama (Mt. Takashi) Mountain in Hamana-gun, Aichi Prefecture.
26. Futamurayama (Mt. Futamura), also called Mt. Miyagi, now Hoi-gun, Aichi Prefecture. Famous mountain along Tokaido Road.
27. Sayo no Nakayama (Mt. Sayo no Naka): Kakegawa-shi, Shizuoka Prefecture. Famous place of poetry.
28. Would I have thought / That life permit / To cross again / The pass of Sayo no Nakayama / It is my life / That enables me to come again. Shinkokinshū, poem no. 987.
29. Chūnagon (Middle Councillor) Moronaka: Poet of the Heian Period. Dates unknown. Fujiwara Moronaga (1138-92), famous statesman and Biwa player.
30. Shizuoka Prefecture.
31. Minamoto no Yorimasa (1104-80), statesman and poet.

32. Utsu no Yama (Mt. Utsu): Mountain between Mariko, Shizuoka Prefecture and Okabe-machi, Shita-gun. Another famous place of poetry, it is often related to ivy. See note 41, Shinshō Hōshi nikki.
33. Kiyomigaseki (Kiyomi Barrier), now Seiken-ji, Okitsu-chō, Shizuoka-shi. Famous place of poetrye
34. Tago no Ura (Tago Bay): Beach of Fuji-shi, Shizuoka Prefecture. It is famous for its view of Mt. Fuji.
35. Though there may be a day / When the waves rise note/ At Tago Bay in Surugae/ Yet no day passese/ Without my love for you. Kokinshū, poem no. 489 (Love)e
36. Ukishimagahara (Ukishima Field)e Beach near Tagonoura, Shizuoka Prefecture. Part of Suruga Bay, it is often related to Mt. Fuji in poetry.
37. Now Hakone Jinja (Hakone Shrine) at southeastern corner of Ashi-no-kō Lake (Kanagawa Prefecture)e Established by the Kamakura military government, the shrine marks one of the most dangerous places of the old Tokaidō Road
38. The water refers to Ashi no-kō (Lake Ashi), near Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture. An Avatar (gongen or gone in Japanese) is an incarnation of a Buddha or bodhisattvae Through the synthesis of Buddhism and Shinto, Shinto deities (here that of Lake Ashi) were considered Avatars of Buddhas and bodhisattvas.
39. Yamanouchi: Old name of a manor north of the Kamakura Mountains. Mentioned in Azuma kagami, etc. Kamakura (Kanagawa Prefecture): Seat of military government (1185-1333)e
40. Takaoka: Now Niihari-gun, Ibaragi Prefecture.
41. Hōunjō: Temple of the Rinzai Sect of Zen Buddhism founded by Sōi (b. 1280)e Anju means the master of a recluse hut.
42. Kūgan Oshō: Unknown Zen priest.
43. Chūhō Oshō: Unknown Zen priest.
44. Temmoku: Seiunji Temple, east of Kōfu-shi.
45. Gyokai Oshō, a disciple of Chūhō Oshō (supra)?
46. Tokusayama (Mt. Tokusa): Higashi Yamanashi-gun, Yamanashi Prefecture.
47. Musashino (Musashi Plain)e Now Tōkyō.
48. Do not set fire todaye/ To Musashino Plaine/ For my beloved husbände/ is hidden here, / And so am I. In Ise monogatari (Tales of Ise) trans. Helen McCullough.

49. Chichibuyama (Mt. Chichibu): Saitama Prefecture.
50. Kōzuke: Corresponds almost exactly to present Gumma Prefecture.
51. "Mistaken game of ornate words . . ." reference to Po Chū-i (Wakan rōeishū). See also K. Ch'en, The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism, p. 222.
52. Muro no Yashima: Sōsha, Tochigi-shi, Tochigi Prefecture (Shimōtsuke Province).
53. Shirakawa Barrier: Hatajuku, Shirakawa-shi, Fukushima Prefecture. The barrier was established in the Nara Period to prevent aborigines from crossing to the South. The barrier became famous in poetry through the poems of Taira no Kanemori and Nōin.
54. Goshūishū, poem no. 518. Nōin (988-1150).
55. This story is recorded in the Fukurozōshi, etc.
56. Lost diary attributed to Nōin.
57. This story is recorded among others in the Fukurozōshi. It refers to the respect paid by travelers passing through to the Barrier Deity of Shirakawa and to the poet Nōin, who was believed identical to the Barrier Deity.
58. Dewa Province: Now divided into Yamagata and Akita Prefectures.
59. Akoya no Matsu (Akoya Pine): Manshō-ji, Chitose-yama, Yamagata-shi, Yamagata Prefecture. Famous place for pine trees.
60. Michinoku Province: Now divided into four prefectures: Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate and Aomori Prefectures.
61. Asaka no Numa (Asaka Pond): Asakayama Kōen, Hiwada, Kōriyama-shi, Fukushima Prefecture. Appears in the Manyōshū, Genji monogatari, Okuono hosomichi, etc. in relation to water grass (katsumi), iris and early summer rain. The place also owes its fame to the story of a maiden who danced in front of the governor and thereby placated his anger caused by what he felt was an improper reception for a governor. When Sanekata (infra) became governor of the province he ordered that, for the festival of the fifth day of the fifth month the roof of his residence should be adorned with iris (as was done in the capital), but since he could find no iris in the province he ordered that water-oat, which grew in the Asaka Pond, be used instead. References to this story are numerous: Mumyō shō, Kokin chōmon shū, etc.
62. Sanekata: Member of the Fujiwara family (d. 998). He was exiled to Mutsu Province in 995, and wrote the Sanekata Ason shū (Gunsho ruijū).

63. Water oat: (*Zinzania latifolia*). Fujiwara Takayoshi: dates unknown. He figures in imperial anthologies beginning with the Goshūishū. The authoritative text mentioned here is unknown.
64. A poem competition (utaawase) following an iris-root competition (neawase) held by the ex-Emperor Shirakawa and Empress Ikuhō Mon'in. To prepare for the event offerings were presented to seven shrines and a horserace was held at Kamo Shrine (Gunsho Ruijō, vol. 226). Part of the Ikuhō Mon'in utaawase is lost.
65. Probably the Fudoki compiled by imperial edict in 713.
66. Yamada: Near Lake Inawashiro, Fukushima Prefecture.
67. Hashirii (Running Well): Also Hasei or Haseishi, Adachi-gun, Fukushima Prefecture.
68. Abukuma: River that takes its source at Asahitake, flows through Fukushima Prefecture and into the Pacific Ocean in Miyagi Prefecture.
69. Because Emperor Godaigo refused to abide by the system of alternative rule between the junior and senior line of the imperial family and abdicate in favor of an emperor of the senior line, and because of Ashikaga no Takauji's rebellion against the Hōjō regent, the Kamakura military government came to an end in 1333.
70. The grave of Tō Hei-ō (Tung P'ing-wang), an unknown Chinese, is located near Hase, Natori-gun, Sengū Matsuyama, Miyagi Prefecture. The grave is located at Natori River and not at Abukuma River as suggested in the text.
71. The story of Ō Shō-kun (Wang Chao-chūh) is recorded in Hsi ching tsa chi. She was a Chinese court lady, given away into marriage, to a ruler of a desert kingdom. The story goes that she yearned so much for her home country that, after her death, green grass grew on her desert graveyard miraculously.
72. Unai's story is included in the Manyōshū, poem nos. 4211-2. There is also a Nō play entitled Unai. Unai pines refer more concretely to pines shaped like the hair-style of a child and are mentioned as such in the Genji monogatari.
73. Takekuma: Old military fort established in the Nara Period for the pacification of the North. Natori-gun, Miyagi Prefecture. A place frequently mentioned in poetry.
74. Natori: River flowing into the Pacific Ocean just south of Sendai. Famous river in Japanese poetry.
75. Miyagino: Now close to Sendai city, Miyagi Prefecture.
76. A reference to poem no. 1091 of the Kokinshū.

77. Motoara (also Matora): Near Kokubunniji, Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture. Famous place in Japanese poetry. The meaning of the place name is: 'moto' = original and 'ara' = wasteland. Appears in relation to kohagi in poem no. 694, Kokinshū, etc. (to bush clover in no. 369, Shinsenzaishū, and cherry blossoms in no. 285, Zokugoshūishū).
78. By kakekotoba association 'ara' of Motoara means 'wasteland'.
79. In the pasto/ People felt sado/ Fearing the flowers would withero/
But now it is the flowerso/ Which long for the past. Shūishū, poem no. 1279 composed by Ichijō Sesshō (Koremasa or Koretada).
80. Taga: Ancient location of Taga Fort, the military headquarters (Chinzai-fu) used for the pacification of the North, established in the Nara Period. Miyagi-gun, Miyagi Prefecture.
81. Okuono Hosomichi: Road leading to the North beginning at Miyagino. The name can be found among others in Bashō's famous diary: Okuono hosomichi.
82. Sue no Matsuyama: Yawata, Tagajō-machi, Miyagi-gun, Miyagi Prefecture. Famous place in Japanese poetry.
83. A reference to poem no. 1093, Kokinshū: Should I ever fall in loveo/
With someone elseo/ Then surely would the waveso/ Spill over the
pine hillso/ Of Sue no Matsuyama. The image of waves spilling over the pine-covered hills often is associated with Sue no Matsuyama.
84. Shiogama: Shrine in Shiogama-shi, Miyagi Prefecture, enshrining the deity Shiotsuchi no Oji no Kami who produced salt here by boiling seaweed. The name of the place means Salt-kettle.
85. A reference to poem no. 1088, Kokinshū.
86. Quotation of an unknown source.
87. Matsushima: Miyagi-gun, Miyagi Prefecture. About 260 small islands are scattered in the Matsushima Bay (also Shiogama Bay). Famous place in poetry.
88. Empuku-ji: Another name for Zuigan-ji, a temple founded by Jigaku Daishi in 828 or, according to another tradition, by Hōshin, a Zen priest from Sung China.
89. Kakuman Zenji is listed in the Hōnaiki as one of the resident priests but not as the temple's founder.
90. Godaidō: Godaidō temple founded by Jigaku Daishi on Godaidō Island.
91. A reference to the Five Myōō: Fudō, Gōzanze, Gundari Yasha, Daiitoku and Kongo Yasha.

92. A reference to poem no. 1064, Goshūishū: It may beo/ That a wind is blowingo/ From the offingo/ For the white tops of waveso/ Cover the lower branches of the pine treeso/ At Sumiyoshi [Shrine].
93. Ojima: Southwest of Zuigan-ji.
94. Raigo: Amida descends upon earth with his attendants Kannon and Seishi to receive the soul of the dead believer.
95. Ksitigarbha-bodhisattva: A bodhisattva who vowed to deliver all people who suffer in hell.
96. Horikane no I (Horikane Well): Sayama-shi, Iruma-gun, Saitama Prefecture. Famous place in poetry.
97. A reference to Ise monogatari, section 9.
98. A reference to Nōin (Fukurozōshi). According to the Ienaga nikki, Meigetsuki and Zokugoshūishū (vol. 6) the ex-Emperor Gotoba used the remains of the Nagara Bridge to make a desk on which one places a sheet or card of poetry.
99. Ide: Ide-machi, Kyōto-fu. Famous place in poetry for frogs. This particular story is also mentioned in the Fukurozoshi.
100. Last two lines taken from poem no. 1093, Kokinshū.
101. First two lines taken from poem no. 1093, Kokinshū.
102. By kakekotoba association, 'urami' (looking out over the bay) also means 'think ill of.'
103. A reference to poem no. 867, Kokinshū.
104. A reference to poem no. 867, Kokinshū.
105. Yen Ch'i River (Chekiang Province) is here associated with Wang Hsi Chih (303?-361?) a famous Chinese calligrapher, who from 335 on lived in retirement.
106. Lu Shan (Kiangsi Province) appears here in reference to the story of K'uan Su of Chou who became an immortal in the mountains of Lu Shan. Both references mean that he did not go as far as to completely sever relations with the world as Wang Hsi Chih and Lu Shan had done.
107. Ōeyama: See note 5.
108. Ikuno: See note 6.
109. If the pine of Aneha at Kuriharao/ Were but a persono/ Long awaited, / I would say "Come with me as a souvenir / To the Capital," in Tales of Ise, trans. Helen McCullough).

110. Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388), author of the travelogue Ojima no kuchi-zusami, son of Fujiwara no Michihira (1287-1335) Regent and Minister of the Left. While he served the emperors of the Northern Court he became Prime Minister and Regent. He studied poetry under Ton'a (1289-1372) of the Nijō School and contributed toward the revitalization of Nijō School poetry and linked-verse poetry. He compiled the Tsukubashū, the first collection of linked-verse poetry, and wrote a number of critical works on poetry.

Notes to Zenkōji Kikō

1. Oyudono no Ueono Nikki, Gunsho ruijū, entries for 3/10 Myōō 4 (1495), 16/10 Myōō 7 (1498) and 6/8 Daiei 8 (1521) etc.
2. Gyōkō (1391-1455) was a major Nijō School poet who received the secret tradition (kokin denju) from Gyojin and handed it down to Tō no Tsuneyori (1401 ?- ca. 1484). Gyōkō wrote the travel diaries (Ise kikō and Ran Fuji ki (both in Gunsho ruijū).
3. Gunsho ruijū, vol. 18, Kikō-bu. An annotated edition is included in (Kokubun-)Tōhō bukkyō sōsho, vol. 17, Kikō-no-bu.
4. There is an annotated edition of the Shitaba wakashū: Hamaguchi Hiroaki in Kōnan Daigaku bungakkoi ronshū (1961).
5. For further details about Gyōe and his literature see Gunsho kaidai, vol. 11 (Tōkyō, 1960), pp. 124-5 and pp. 131-2, and Inoue Muneo, Chūsei kadan-shi no kenkyū, Muromachi zenki (Tōkyō, 1961), pp. 320-323.
6. In 1465 Gyōe was 35. The Emperor Gotsuchimikado acceded to the throne; the ruling shōgun was Ashikaga Yoshimasa.
7. One of the Seven Shrines of Mt. Haku. Because of the synthesis of Buddhism and Shinto, the shrine included seven temple halls. It is now in Tsurugi, Ishikawa District, Ishikawa Prefecture. In Dōkō Jūgō's Kaikoku zakki the place is also mentioned: "On the foot of Mt. Haku called Shimo-shirayama (Lower Mt. Haku) there is a place called Tsurugi. The place is said to have come from the fact that here in the old days a sword (tsurugi) had flown down . . . o" (Kokubun-)Tōhō bukkyō sōsho, vol. 17, Kikō-no-bu, p. 124. Records indicate that the shrine had been visited by Kiso Yoshinaka and Minamoto no Yoshitsune. Gyōe was probably a resident of this shrine.
8. A mountain between Toyama and Ishikawa Prefectures.
9. Futa means "two" in Japanese. So, in this poem, Gyōe stresses the word "two" to make a kind of pun.

10. A no longer extant lake once located near Himi Village. It has been celebrated in poetry since the Manyōshū (poems of Ōtomo no Yakamochi).
11. Young Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718?-785o) had been appointed governor of Etchū Province (Toyama Prefecture) in 746. Tago Bay is located to the southeast of the old Fuse Lake. Probably a sweet-water lake in ancient times, it also appears under the name of Himi Bay. Its praises are sung in the Manyōshū (e.g., poem no. 297 vol. 3). In poetry it is often mentioned in connection with wisteria.
12. Probably near Watari, which is mentioned in the Engi shiki and now located in Nishibe, Shinminato-shi, Toyama Prefecture. The bridge mentioned in the poem probably refers to an ancient bridge which had once spanned the river.
13. Gyōe mentions a Chinese poem entitled Feng-chōdao Yeh P'o (A Night-mooring at Maple Bridge) by Chang Chi, a T'ang Dynasty poet.
14. Mizuhashi: A relay-station of the Hokuroku Road mentioned in the Engi shiki. It was located at the mouth of the Jōganji River. Now Mizuhashi, Toyama City, Toyama Prefecture. By looking toward the southeast, one can see Mt. Tate from Mizuhashi.
15. Mt. Tate was a famous mountain and object of religious veneration. Its highest peak is 1992 m. It is in the present-day Toyama Prefecture.
16. A beautiful shoreline of Toyama(-gata) Bay, stretching from Fushiki to Himi. It is famous in poetry. Gyōe appears to have walked along the entire Toyama(-gata) Bay.
17. According to the Dainihon chimei jisho, the lower course of the Kurobe River was called Shijōhachikase (Forty-Eight Rapids) in ancient times.
18. Jōdo: Now Ichiburi Village probably between Ichiburi Station and Oyashirazu, Niigata Prefecture.
19. Lit. the Four Merciful Hearts of the Buddha.
20. Oyashirazu (lit. Not-knowing-One's Parents). One of the most dangerous places along the Hokuroku Road. Travelers could pass only during the recess of a wave, and they had to reach safety before a new wave splashed against the cliffs. Because every traveler had to be on his own across this passage, it acquired the name Oyashirazu (parents do not know their children and children do not know their parents).
21. This passage in the Zenkōji kikō has a religious dimension: Gyōe's reliance upon Amida's mercy. The religious meaning seen in the passage through a dangerous place is reminiscent of the mountain climbing practices of the Shugen (Yamabushi) adepts.

22. Rinne (Skt. samsāra). Repetition of birth and death in the six realms of existence.
23. A shore to the east of Oyashirazu, near present-day Uta, Ōmi-shi in Niigata Prefecture.
24. A popular festival held on the seventh day of the seventh month, the only day when, according to ancient Chinese legend, the Cowherd Star (Altair) could reunite with the Weaver Star (Vega) across the Milky Way. Twenty years later when Gyōe stayed at the nearby capital (Kokufu) of Echigo, his visit too coincided with the Tanabata Festival (Hokkoku kikō, Gunsho ruijū, vol. 18, p. 670). Bashō also composed a poem in the vicinity of this place (Izumozaki) about stars: "In the rough sea / leading over to Sado Island / The Milky Way" (Oku no hosomichi).
25. Fishermen used to write their wishes on kaji leaves at the occasion of Tanabata Festival. The reason for using kaji leaves is that 'kaji' is homophonous with 'kaji' meaning oar. A reference to the same custom is found in Gyōe's Hokkoku kikō, Gunsho ruijū, vol. 18, p. 670.
26. The Itoi River (now called Hime-kawa River) enters the sea at Itoi-gawa City, Niigata Prefecture.
27. Yoneyama: Mt. Yone is located near Kurokawa Village. At its western base stands the Yone-yama (Maisan-ji) Temple; the temple bell Gyōe refers to was probably rung here. Atop the mountain is another temple, the Yakushi-dō, a temple hall whose main object of worship is a Yakushi Statue. Each year on the 8th of April, this statue is returned to the Yakushi-dō from the Yoneyama (Maisan-ji) Temple, its winter home. A festival is held at the Yakushi-dō on the eighth day of each month. The proximity of Mt. Yone to the sea explains the visibility of the ocean.
28. Hanagasa no Sato: Probably Hanasaki, at the upper course of the Yasukura River.
29. Nightingales are said to cover their heads with blossoms of plum trees; hence the association with Hanagasa, meaning "blossom hat." Since nightingales appear in spring like the plum blossoms, the author, who now travels in fall, cannot hear the nightingale.
30. Now Sekiyama, Myōkō-Kōgen-machi, Niigata Prefecture (Echigo Province), Nakakubiki-gun.
31. Priest Kaigei: an unknown priest. The location of his quarters is also unknown. Gyōe on his return trip pays another visit to Kaigei. Priest Ryūun: Also unknown.
32. Mt. Asama A celebrated volcano between Nagano and Gunma Prefectures.
33. Between 5 and 7 p.m.

34. Ruridan-meguri: Circumambulation performed in complete darkness underneath the altar. According to the way this practice is still carried out today, the worshipper must touch the iron lock located exactly underneath the main Amida Statue, which, symbolizing entrance into the Pure Land, ensures the worshipper's access to it.
35. It was widely believed that the Amida statue of the Zenkō-ji, brought from Paekche (Kudara), a Korean kingdom in the seventh century, and later installed here, was the "real" Amida (Zenkōji engi)o
36. Naniwa Bay: Now Ōsaka Bay, an ancient harbor used in journeys through the Inland Sea, between Kyūshū and China.
37. Obasutegama (Mt. Obasute): Mountain (4100 feet) in Sarashina-gun, Nagano Prefecture. It is a famous place in Japanese poetry and often associated with the moon.
38. Mt. Togakushi: A mountain located in Nagano Prefecture, Kamiminuchi-gun. It is known especially as a mountain worshipped by Shugen (Yamabushi) adepts. The shrine with the double fence mentioned here is the Togakushi Shrine, which included among others the Middle Shrine and the Upper Shrine (Okuono In). The main deity enshrined was (Ama-no-) Tajikarao, who is said to have opened the heavenly rock cave (Amaono Iwato) into which the Sun-goddess Amaterasu had hidden herself (Kojiki). The tendency to see mountains and particular places in mountains as appearances or incarnations of Buddhist deities was common among Shugen (Yamabushi) adepts.
39. Fuchū: Beach near present-day Jōetsu City.
40. Koshi: Echizen, Etchū, Echigo Provinces, i.e., Hokurokudō.
41. A river which flows into the sea at Toyama(-gata) Bay to the west of Uozu City.
42. A mountain between Gifu and Ishikawa Prefectures. Mt. Haku was an object of worship, one of the so-called Three Mountains of Japan (Nihon Sanzan): Fuji-san, Tate-yama and Haku-san. The worship was concentrated at the four Haku-san Shrines, the head shrine of which was Shirayama Hime Shrine.

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Although studies of travel diaries had begun in the Edo period, it was not until the period during and immediately preceding the second world war that comprehensive studies of travel diaries appeared. The Edo Period scholars, usually associated with the School of Native Learning, had already begun to annotate the Kaikoku zakki (Miscellaneous Notes about a Journey around the Country) of 1486-1487 and Izayoi nikki. Bashō mentioned the travel diaries which, by the seventeenth century, had become classics: the Tosa nikki, the Kaidō ki (Account of [a Journey along] the Tōkaidō Road) of 1223 and the Izayoi nikki. These diaries continued to be classics until modern times, but they were the only ones to which scholars of the Edo Period paid attention. The Meiji Period also continued to ignore the large body of medieval Japanese travel diaries. In 1943, however, was published the first monograph discussing a great number of medieval travel diaries: Narukami Katsumi's Nihon kikō bungei kenkyū (Study of Japanese Travel Literature). Following Narukami's study came others: Fukuda Hideichi and Herbert Plutschow, Nihon kikō bungaku binran (Handbook for the Study of Medieval Japanese Travel Diaries), Musashino Shoin (Tōkyō, 1975) and Shirai Chūkō's Chūsei no kikō bungaku (Medieval Japanese Travel Diary Literature) Bunka Shobō Hakubun-sha (Tōkyō, 1976).

In addition to these general studies, many articles about individual travel diaries have been published. Philological studies prevailed before the war, but it was not until recently that a wider range of studies came out discussing style, content, and comparisons with other travel diaries, for instance. These studies have one peculiar feature: they are written by scholars of small colleges and published in rather obscure journals. Travel diary literature is still an unexplored field in Japanese scholarship, especially at high levels. Since literally hundreds of travel diaries of the Edo period remain untouched by scholarship, travel diaries clearly have not yet become a standard object of study and discussion.

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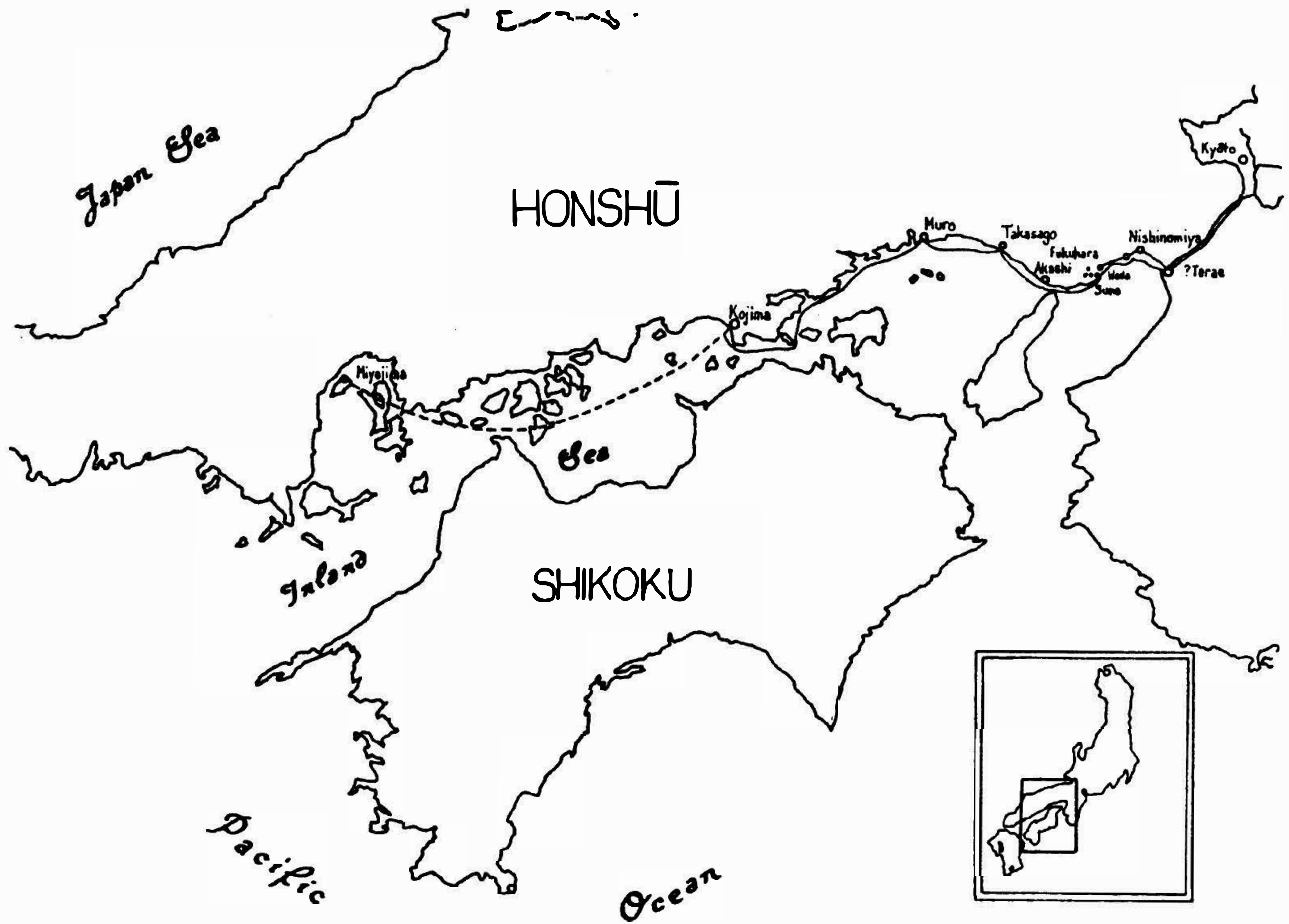
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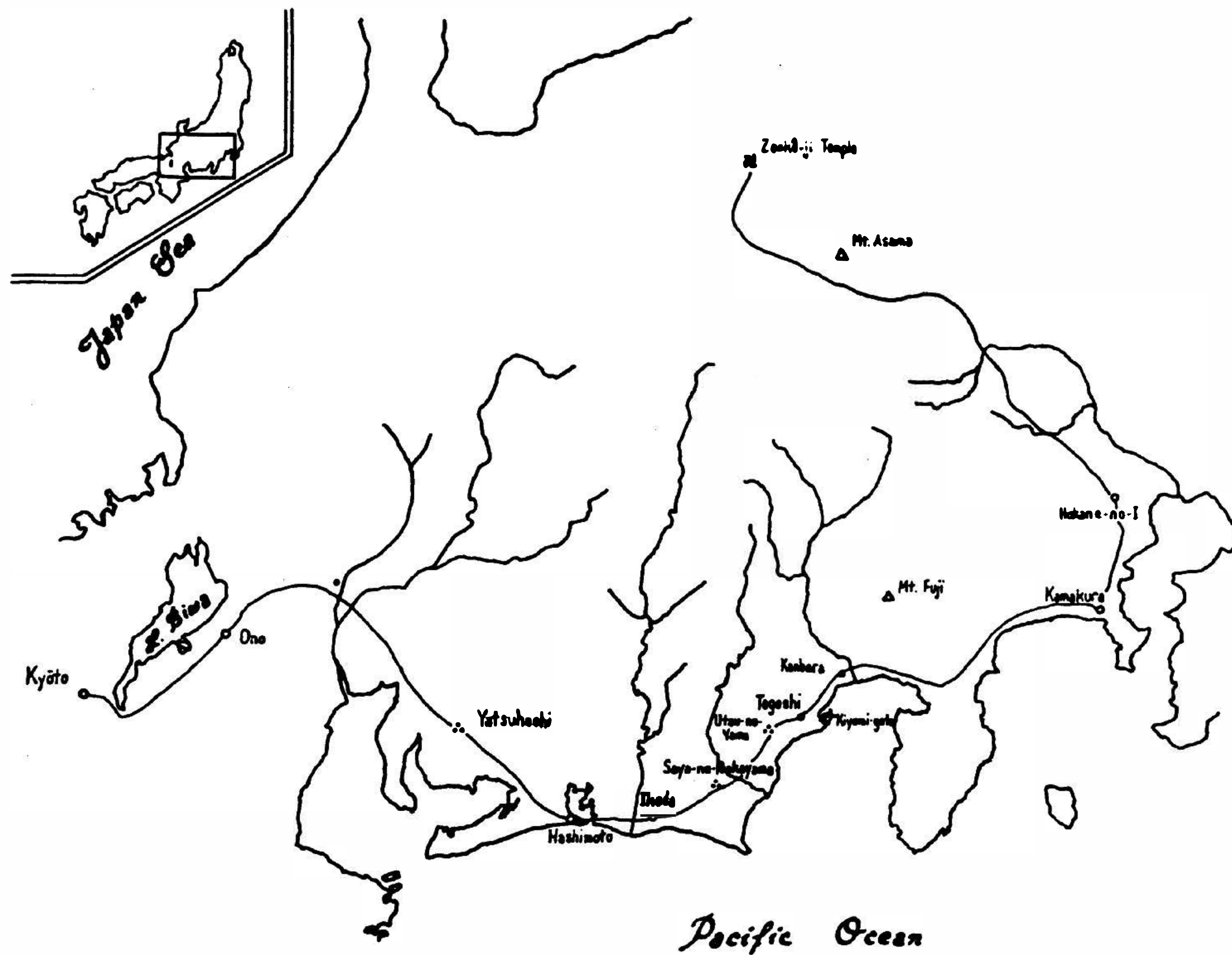
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TAKAKURA-IN ITSUKUSHIMA GOKŌ KI 高倉院嚴島御幸記

List of place names
*e= place names appearing
on the map
+ = Places of stayover

*+	Terae	乙ら江
*	Nishinomiya	西の宮
	Ikuta	いくた
*+	Fukuhara	ふくはら
*	Wadanomisaki (Cape Wada)	わたのめさき
*	Sumanoura (Suma Bay)	あまのうら
	Yamada (Bizen)	山だ
*	Akashi	あかし
*+	Takasago	たかさご
*+	Muro	室
*+	Kojima	こじま
+	Semito (Bichū)	せみと
+	Mumajima	むまじま
*	Miyajima (Itsukushima Shrine)	宮島



* = Place names appearing on the map

*	2/1225	Kyōto		京都
		Ōsakanoseki	(Ōsaka Barrier)	逢坂の関
		Kagamiyama	(Mt. Kagami)	鏡山
*		Ono		小野
*		Yatsunashi		八橋
		Miyajiyama	(Mt. Miyaji)	宮路山
*		Hashimoto		橋本
*		Ikeda		池田
*		Sayanonakayama	(Mt. Saya no Naka)	小堰の中山
		Kikukawa		菊川
*		Utsunoyama	(Mt. Utsu)	宇津の山
*		Tegoshi		牛越
		Kiyomigaseki	(Kiyomi Barrier)	清見の関
*		Kanbara		蒲原
* 29/2		Kamakura		鎌倉
		Musashino	(Musashi Plain)	武蔵野
*		Horikanenoi	(Horikane Well)	堀兼の井
		Irumagawa	(Iruma River)	入間川
		Hakōnoyama	(Mt. Hako)	はこうの山
*		Asamayama	(Mt. Asama)	浅間山
*		Zenkoji Temple		善光寺
*		Kamakura		鎌倉
		Shioya		塩谷

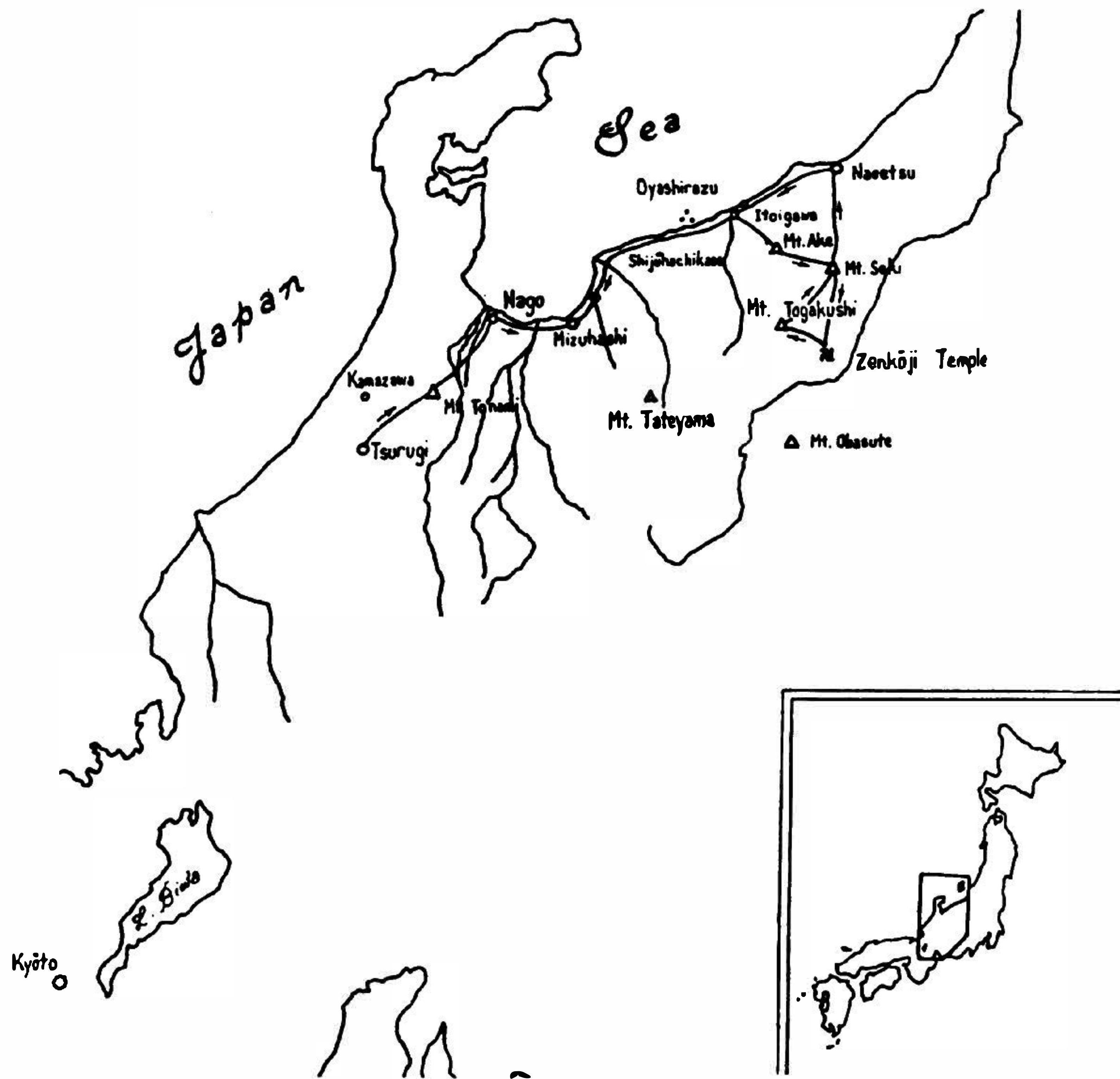
MIYAKO NO TSUTO 都のつと

* 1350?	Kyōto		京都
*	Ōsakayama	(Mt. Ōsaka)	逢坂山
*	Ishiyama		石山
	Shiganoura	(Shiga Bay)	志賀の浦
*	Kagamiyama	(Mt. Kagami)	鏡山
*	Fuwanoseki	(Fuwa Barrier)	不破の関
*	Narumigata	(Narumi Bay)	鳴美潟
	Takashiyama	(Mt. Takashi)	高師山
*	Futamurayama	(Mt. Futamura)	二村山
*	Sayanonakayama	(Mt. Saya no Naka)	小笹の中山
*	Utsunoyama	(Mt. Utsu)	宇津の山
*	Kiyomigaseki	(Kiyomi Barrier)	清見の関
*	Tagonoura	(Tago Bay)	田子の浦
	Ukishimagahara	(Ukishima Field)	浮島ヶ原
*	Hakone		箱根
*	Kamakura		鎌倉
	Hōunji Temple		法雲寺
	Tokusayama	(Mt. Tokusa)	とくさ山
	Musashino	(Musashi Plain)	武蔵野
	Hitachi Province		常陸の国
	Kōzuke Province		上野の国
	Muronoyashima		室の八島
*	Shirakawanoseki	(Shirakawa Barrier)	白川の関
	Dewa Province		出羽の国
	Akoyanomatsu	(Akoya Pine)	阿古屋の松
	Asakanonuma	(Asaka Pond)	浅香の沼

List of place names

* = Place names appearing on the map

*	Yamada		山田
	Hashirii	(Hashiri Well)	走川井
*	Abukumagawa	(Abukuma River)	阿武隈川
	Takekumanomatsu	(Takekuma Pine)	武隈の松
*	Natorigawa	(Natori River)	名取川
	Miyagino	(Miyagi Field)	宮城野
	Taga no Kōfu		多賀の国府
	Suenomatsuyama		末の松山
*	Shiogama		塩釜
*	Matsushima		松島
*	Enpukuji	(Enpukuji Temple)	丹福寺
	Godaïdō		五大堂



ZENKŌJI KIKŌ 善光寺紀行

List of place names

*e=ePlace names appearing
on the map
+ = Places of stayover

*	3/7	Tsurugi		鶴来
		Kanetsuruginomiya	(Kanetsurugi Shrine)	金剣宮
*	4/7	Tonamiyama	(Mt. Tonami)	碓波山
		Futakamigawa	(Futakami River)	上二川
		Fusenoumi	(Lake Fuse)	布勢の湖
*+		Nago		奈呉
*	5/7	Mizuhashi		水橋
*		Shijuhachikase		四十八ヶ瀬
		Jodo		浄土
*		Oyashirazu		親不知
	7/7	Utanohama	(Uta Beach)	歌の浜
*		Itoigawa	(Itoi River)	糸魚川
*	8/7	Akeyama	(Mt. Ake)	朱山
	9/7	Hanagasa		花笠
*		Sekinoyama	(Mt. Seki)	関の山
*+	10/7	Zenkoji	(Zenkōji Temple)	善光寺
*+	15/7	Togakushiyama	(Mt. Togakushi)	戸隠山
*	16/7	Sekinoyama	(Mt. Seki)	関の山
*	17/7	Naoetsu (Fuchū)		直江津
	21/7	Hayatsukigawa	(Hayatsuki River)	早槻山

